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The Unclothed Body in Francisco Goya's *The Disasters of War*

A thesis project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts at the Virginia Commonwealth University

by

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Abstract

THE UNCLOTHED BODY IN FRANCISCO GOYA'S *THE DISASTERS OF WAR*

By Farley Goodrich Sanderford

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2012

Major Director: Dr. Michael Schreffler
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Francisco Goya (1746-1828) created a series of prints entitled *The Disasters of War* (1810-1820) (*Los Desastres de la Guerra*) depicting the Napoleonic Wars in Spain, the famine that subsequently occurred in Madrid, and symbolic representations similar to his print series *Los Caprichos* (1797-1799). This thesis will consider Goya's use of the unclothed human body in his series of prints *The Disasters of War*. This thesis will place these representations within the contexts of other works produced by Goya that portray the unclothed figures, as well as within the Spanish artistic tradition of Goya's time. Through this investigation, I will situate the role representation of the unclothed body serves throughout the series.

Introduction

Francisco Goya (1746-1828) created a series of prints entitled *The Disasters of War* (1810-1820) (*Los Desastres de la Guerra*) depicting the Napoleonic Wars in Spain, the famine that subsequently occurred in Madrid, and symbolic representations similar to his print series *Los Caprichos* (1797-1799). Throughout the series, Goya portrayed the unclothed body in several different modes. The ways in which the unclothed are depicted in the series can be separated into the following modes: idealized unclothed male bodies, which I will call “the nude,”¹ non-idealized partially and completely unclothed bodies, partially unclothed female bodies, and the allegorical figure of Truth portrayed as a partially unclothed female. This thesis will consider Francisco Goya’s use of the unclothed human body, both the idealized and realistic modes, in his series of prints *The Disasters of War*. Additionally, this thesis will place these representations within the contexts of other works produced by Goya that portray the unclothed figures, as well as within the Spanish artistic tradition of Goya’s time. Through this investigation, I will identify the role representation of the unclothed body in the various modes serves throughout the series.

Based on the relationship between the portrayals of the unclothed body in *The Disasters* and other representations of the nude in Goya’s oeuvre, and more broadly, Spanish art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, I will argue that Goya’s *The Disasters of War* is not only a

¹ I decided to use the term “the nude” for this particular mode of the unclothed male body to distinguish it from the non-idealized body. By “the nude,” I mean, in a style like that of the academic nude study drawings. The key features of this mode include emphasis on musculature, posing the body, and the complete absence of clothing.

break in the tradition of both the representation of war, as scholars have argued, but that it is also a break in the tradition of the depiction of the unclothed body in Spanish art of his time.² It is a break in the tradition of the representation of war because of Goya's use of contemporary subject matter, use of the print medium, portrayal of the body in close perspective to the viewer, and the gory details that are included in many of the prints.³ It is a break in the tradition of portraying the unclothed body because of the depiction of contemporary subject matter, the un-idealized, gory way in which many of the bodies are portrayed, and the use of the unclothed body in scenes that were not among the accepted subject matter including religious or classical scenes.

Although scholars have noted the obvious unclothed state of the bodies in many of the scenes in *The Disasters of War*, discussion of the bodies has been limited and superficial. My contribution to the scholarship is an examination of the representations of the partially and fully unclothed bodies in Goya's *The Disasters of War*, supplemented by other examples of the nude in Goya's art. I will attempt to present the series within the context of the Napoleonic Wars, Goya's breaking with the Neoclassical tradition, and the new artistic practice of portraying contemporary subject matter.

² See Robert Hughes, *Goya* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 265 and Janis Tomlinson, *Graphic Evolutions: Prints by Goya from the Collection of the Arthur Ross Foundation*, Exh. cat. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 28-29.

³ Hughes, *Goya*, 265 and Tomlinson, *Graphic Evolutions*, 28-29.

Chapter One: The Disasters of War and the State of the Scholarship

Scholarship on Francisco Goya and, specifically, on *The Disasters of War* series is voluminous. In this review of the scholarship, I have divided the sources into five categories: monographs about Goya, art historical sources focused on *The Disasters of War*, historical sources about the Napoleonic Wars, art historical sources about the Spanish artistic tradition, and other related sources.

Monographs on Goya

Art historical sources on Goya include many monographs, books more specifically about his prints, a variety of exhibition catalogs, and scholarly articles. These sources are helpful when considering Goya's oeuvre, paying particular attention to other examples of representation of the unclothed body. Early Goya scholars such as Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, Pierre Gassier, Aldous Huxley, José Lopez-Rey and Alfonso E. Pérez-Sánchez focused primarily on issues such as historical, social, and political contexts surrounding the production of the works of art, biographical information about Goya, technical issues of production of works (particularly for *The Disasters*) and the presence of themes within Goya's art.

Ferrari's book, *Goya- His Complete Etchings, Aquatints and Lithographs*, published in 1962, is a fairly comprehensive source on Goya's works on paper.⁴ The author characterizes Goya's prints as representations of the violence and unpleasantness of humanity using drama and a tragic sense of humor. He describes *The Disasters of War* as a dramatic series of prints portraying a war which turns men into beasts and ultimately ends in tragedy. In addition to a discussion of Goya's prints, Ferrari also offers a helpful background on the history of the emergence of printmaking in Spain. Ferrari does offer some discussion specifically of *The Disasters*, though it is brief. He asserts that this series is useful in an investigation into the Napoleonic Wars because Goya does not blatantly portray one side as the aggressor; instead there are elements of anonymity and ambiguity. Following the introduction to the prints, the author offers a short description of each print next to its reproduction. These entries are largely descriptive, are concerned with common themes represented, and note the connections between the scenes depicted in the prints and the historical context.

Gassier's book, *Drawings of Goya: The Sketches, Studies and Individual Drawings*, published in 1975, is a catalog of Goya's drawings.⁵ Because many preparatory drawings exist for *The Disasters of War* prints, this is an important source for investigating the artistic process. Gassier, like other scholars of Goya around this time, focused on connoisseurial issues like the order in which the prints were made, the identification of the first edition of the complete series, and the changes in style and handling in the different prints. Following the short introduction, the catalog of drawings includes a reproduction of the drawing and a brief entry, which includes a

⁴ Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *Goya- His Complete Etchings, Aquatints and Lithographs* (New York: Abrams, 1962).

⁵ Pierre Gassier, *Drawings of Goya: The Sketches, Studies and Individual Drawings* (New York: Harper Row, 1975).

description of the depicted scene, a consideration of how it differs (or does not differ) from the final print, and the formal qualities of the drawing.

Lopez-Rey's book, *A Cycle of Goya's Drawings: The Expression of Truth and Liberty*, published in 1956, is similar to Gassier's catalog of Goya's drawings discussed previously.⁶ Chapter One describes the social and political context in which Goya was living and creating art with a particular focus on the Inquisition, the French Revolution, the Napoleonic invasion and the Enlightenment. Chapter Two is the catalog of the drawings, and with each reproduction, a short description offers the formal and connoisseurial qualities about each drawing. Lopez-Rey discusses several themes represented within the series: the reality of the individual, weight of free destiny, libertinism, moral serfdom, etc. By the nature of this source, *The Disasters of War* is typically one subject among many, so the author's discussion is generally fairly limited and traditional.

More contemporary scholars such as Robert Hughes, Andrew Schulz and Janis Tomlinson continue to discuss both Goya and *The Disasters* within the historical and political context of his time. Hughes' book, *Goya*, published in 2003, includes a lot of historical background about the circumstances in which Goya lived and created his art. Hughes also chooses to investigate many of the common themes present in Goya's art, including those in *The Disasters*. He examines individual works as examples of these present themes.

⁶ José Lopez-Rey, *A Cycle of Goya's Drawings: The Expression of Truth and Liberty* (New York: Macmillan, 1956).

Schulz's book *Goya's Caprichos: Aesthetics, Perception, and the Body*, published in 2005 deals primarily with another series of prints by Goya, *Los Caprichos*.⁷ Many of the observations and ideas about this series could also, in part, be applied to some of the imagery in *The Disasters*, particularly when dealing with Goya's handling of the human body. Schulz's analysis and discussion of the ways the body is represented in *Los Caprichos* combines an understanding of the historical and cultural context of Goya's time while also considering the aesthetics and modes of representation of the body in this series. In my own discussion of *The Disasters of War*, I also am considering the relationship between the context and the modes of representation of the human body. In the introduction, along with a summary of the state of the scholarship, Schulz clearly states in his thesis that he will examine the prints of *Los Caprichos* within the context of the arts, history, and culture of the time in which they were created and viewed, and paying particular attention to the ideas of reception and vision during the time Goya created the prints. Because of the time in which *Los Caprichos* were made, the time between the Enlightenment and Romanticism, Schulz is paying close attention to the changing notion of vision during this time.

The first chapter entitled, "From Expression to Caricature," Schulz explores the changes in the depiction of the body in art around 1800. The standards of the Academy were firmly established in Spain, like many other countries in Europe, and during the late nineteenth century, the beliefs about physiognomy and representation of the body and expression had widely circulated. Two religious works by Goya, *Death of Saint Joseph* (1787) (Fig. 1) and *Saint Francis Borgia at the Deathbed of an Impenitent* (1788) (Fig. 2), are early examples that Schulz

⁷ Andrew Schulz, *Goya's Caprichos: Aesthetics, Perception, and the Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

uses to pinpoint Goya's use of expression through the body. Specifically, he examined in two scenes of death and a change in aesthetics in Spain during this time, particularly within the works of Goya.

In the second chapter, "Modes of Spectatorship," Schulz discusses how prints and printmaking were established and received in Spain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Like elsewhere in Europe, in Spain the print was typically used for rapid circulation (advertisement, journals, etc.), and within the Academy, their highest function was replication of a work of art. However, Goya's unique use of the print as a work of art unto itself is noteworthy. Instead of using the print to solely make copies of other artist's work (though even his copies of Velazquez' paintings include his own innovations), Goya sought to make his prints stand alone as works unto themselves. Beginning with *Los Caprichos*, Goya began to challenge the accepted function of a print through the kind of images that he portrayed in them.

In the third chapter, "Inverting the Enlightenment Body" the author discusses the representation of the senses. Looking to anonymous manuscript commentaries about *Los Caprichos*, Schulz asserts that this subject is neglected by many scholars despite the fact that sensory perception was an important part of Enlightenment philosophy. Vision was believed to be the primary sense for understanding and knowledge, and the senses of taste and smell were believed to be primary for needs and desires of the body. In the concluding paragraph of the chapter, Schulz states that when reason is not present, the human body loses its resemblance to the human form. Stated another way, and deriving from the accompanying text in one of the prints in *Los Caprichos*, the sleep of reason produces monsters.

The fourth chapter, “Concepts of the Grotesque” focuses on the relationship between *Los Caprichos* and the understanding of the “grotesque” in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Schulz focuses on the historical and theoretical analysis of the prints, the relationship between artist and viewer, and he moves away from issues surrounding the production of the images and instead focuses on issues of reception. Schulz includes consideration of several important scholars’ contributions on the grotesque in art, and then investigates Goya’s use of the grotesque in *Los Caprichos* and some other works by Goya.

Tomlinson’s book, *Graphic Evolutions: Prints by Goya from the Collection of the Arthur Ross Foundation*, was published in 1989.⁸ Although this source is similar to several other exhibition catalogs about Goya’s prints, it includes some important additions to the scholarship on *The Disasters*. The introduction written by David Rosand is a discussion of the etymology of “capriccio” and Goya’s use of invention in the transition from his cabinet paintings to *Los Caprichos*, which were certainly a precedent for *The Disasters*. Chapter two discusses *The Disasters of War*. In addition to comparisons of the prints with those of Callot and American Civil War documentary photography, the author offers some possible sources for two important prints to be included in the discussion of the nude: Plate 39- “*Grande hazaña, con muertos*” (Fig. 3) and 37- “*Esto es peor*” (Fig. 4). In print 39, the hanging limbs are compared to plaster casts used in the Academy for drawing body parts, and in print 37, the impaled torso is compared to a rear view of the Belvedere torso of antiquity. Tomlinson notes the “irony” of placing a revered nude figure into the violent circumstances of the war, and even the presence of castration as a symbol of the “impotence” of the individual in the face of the terrors of war. In my analysis, I

⁸ Janis Tomlinson, *Graphic Evolutions: Prints by Goya from the Collection of the Arthur Ross Foundation*, Exh. cat. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

develop these ideas further through a more in-depth examination of specific examples of Goya's portrayal of the human body throughout the series, and also through comparison and contrast of the modes of these representations and their functions.

In addition to providing information about Goya's vast oeuvre, most of the monographs provide a chapter or section devoted to *The Disasters of War* and some historical context about the Napoleonic Wars. For example, Dagmar Feghelm's chapter "The Black Paintings" in *I, Goya* discusses *The Disasters*.⁹ Feghelm's discussion of the prints is focused on the anonymity of the subjects, possible sources for some of the prints including the Belvedere torso and references to Christian iconography (the life of Christ), and Goya's use of symbolism, particularly the figures of Truth and Justice, and the animals and the writings of Giovanni Battista Casti (August 29, 1724 – February 5, 1803).¹⁰

Hilliard T. Goldfarb, in his chapter "The Disasters of War. I saw it" in the exhibition catalog *Francisco Goya: Los Caprichos, Los Desastres de la Guerra, Los Disparates* is similar to other exhibition catalogs that discuss *The Disasters*.¹¹ Goldfarb proceeds through the series in their published order, and explores several themes present in the prints. He introduces the prints by describing the categories into which the series is typically divided and presenting the information regarding its printing and publication. The topics Goldfarb include in his discussion

⁹ Dagmar Feghelm, *I, Goya* (New York : Prestel, 2004).

¹⁰ Giovanni Battista Casti was a poet, contemporary with Goya. The particular text that is often referenced in a discussion of *The Disasters of War* is *Gli Animali parlanti*, which would have been accessible to Goya in its Spanish translation (published in 1813). It was written during the French Revolution, and discussed the potential hope of the people and the absurdity of the political systems in place.

¹¹ Hilliard T. Goldfarb, *Francisco Goya: Los Caprichos, Los Desastres de la Guerra, Los Disparates* Exh. cat. (Montréal : Musée des beaux-arts, 2001).

are Goya as a witness to the events of the war, the absence of heroism and glory in the prints, Goya's composition including the arranging of figures and cropping, some possible sources for some figures, the possibility of Casti as a source for Goya's representation of animals, and an uncertain ending. Like many of the other catalogs, this source on *The Disasters of War* is relatively thorough, but it does not explicitly address the presence of the unclothed body.

Werner Hofmann's chapter "Witness to His Time" in *Goya: To Every Story There Belongs Another*, moves chronologically through the prints and explores several themes that are present.¹² He begins with describing the concept of the series in both the traditional and modern sense (see John Klein "The Dispersal of the Modernist Series"), the violence that is very present, the anonymity of the figures and the landscape, the various functions of women, the juxtaposition of representing terrible scenes with an absence of emotion, the complex imagery of people and animals, particularly in the "caprichos enfáticos," the symbolic figure of Truth, and finally, the uncertainty of the ending. Hofmann gives an overview of the important topics portrayed in the series, though the unclothed body is not included in this list of subjects.

Sources on *The Disasters of War*

Scholarship dealing specifically with *The Disasters* focuses on the relationship between the historical situation of the times, specifically the Napoleonic Wars, and the images that are depicted in the prints. There has been a resurgence of interest in the series within museums, and many of the texts about the series are exhibition catalogs. Although these books are helpful, they often fall short in the depth of discussion of the subject. Juliet Wilson-Bareu's chapter on Goya's prints in *The Disasters of War: Callot, Goya, Dix* published in 1998, offers helpful discussion of

¹² Werner Hofmann, *Goya: To Every Story There Belongs Another* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2003).

some important issues including the portrayal of women and the ambiguity present in many of the prints, though the catalog does not offer a thorough investigation into the series.¹³ Although the three artists' series of prints belong to a similar genre of prints about war, they were created in such different contexts and times that a comparison seems highly problematic.

In *The Sleep of Reason: Reality and Fantasy in the Print Series of Goya* published in 1992, a similar discussion of the prints is presented.¹⁴ With respect to the unclothed body, the fact that many of the figures are not clothed is mentioned in this catalog, but the analysis does not continue any deeper. In fact, in *The Changing Image: Prints by Francisco Goya* published in 1974, catalog there is no mention of the unclothed body at all.¹⁵ A more recent example, *Goya: Chronicler of War, The Disasters and War Photography* published in 2009, compares the prints from Goya's *The Disasters of War* to early examples of war photojournalism.¹⁶ Although the authors make several important points about Goya's presentation of the body in the series, a comparison with photography (though there appear to be some compositional similarities between the two) seems problematic and unfounded. Although the first edition of *The Disasters* was published in 1863 by the Royal Academy, when Goya created the plates during the years

¹³ Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *The Disasters of War: Callot, Goya, Dix*, Exh. cat. (London: National Touring Exhibitions, 1998).

¹⁴ *The Sleep of Reason: Reality and Fantasy in the Print Series of Goya*, Exh. cat. (Washington, DC: The Trust, 1992).

¹⁵ Eleanor A. Sayre, *The Changing Image: Prints by Francisco Goya*, Exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1974).

¹⁶ *Goya, Cronista de Todas las Guerras : Los Desastres y la Fotografía de Guerra*, Exh. cat. (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Centro Atlántico de Arte Moderno, 2009).

1810 to 1820, photography had not yet been invented. Photographers may have drawn ideas about composition from the prints in Goya's *The Disasters*, but using photography as a comparison to Goya's works is unwarranted.

Another recent exhibition catalog, *Goya's Realism*, published in 2000, investigates a collection of works by Goya that portray their subjects in a "realistic" manner.¹⁷ Each essay is written by a different scholar, and each addresses a different issue within this context. In the first essay, "Goya's Realism," Vibeke Vibolt Knudsen chronicles Goya's realistic works including his early drawings (especially those he made while in Italy) and images of violence including *The Disasters of War* and the *Bandits Attack* series (see Figs. 5, 6, and 7). Knudsen focuses on the importance of reception and the relationship between the viewer and the work, and that the representation of the body is a vital part of this. This essay is a significant contribution to the discussion of the unclothed body within the works of Francisco Goya, and it is an important source for the research in this project.

Juliet Wilson-Bareu, the author of the next chapter entitled "The Roots of Goya's Realism," pays particular attention to an early album of drawings, mostly during his studies in Italy and subsequent return to Madrid in the 1770s (see also *Goya: Truth and Fantasy* exhibition catalog) and a few other early paintings. The album includes drawings of nude, draped, and classical studies; figures in the midst of action; the scenes typically include an element of mystery and/or drama. Reva Wolf, in "Goya: Image, Reality and History" discusses how Goya has represented the past, specifically in his series of prints *Tauromaquia*, *The Disasters of War*, and *Los Caprichos*.

¹⁷ Vibeke Knudsen, *Goya's Realism*, Exh. cat. (Copenhagen: Statens Museum for Kunst, 2000).

Scholarly Articles

In addition to exhibition catalogs, there have been several scholarly articles that deal with more specific issues significant to Goya's art and particularly, *The Disasters of War*. A.N. Anwer's article "Goya's Engravings: Anatomy of a Subversive Aesthetic" published in 1985 discusses Goya's prints, including *The Disasters*.¹⁸ The author argues that Goya's use of the print medium not only allowed Goya to more selectively choose his subject matter, but also the style in which he could depict it. Because Goya was not using oil and canvas, he was not as strictly bound to the traditions of high art or to the demands of a patron. This helps to explain why Goya was able to depict such terrible violence as well as the depictions of the dismembered bodies. There are several additional features that Anwer focuses on, including the absence of a clear victor or victim within the series, the inclusion of madness and chaos to portray "the meaningless and futility of war,"¹⁹ and that with the return of the monarchy, there was still a sense of hopelessness but Goya seemed to hold onto the hope of liberty.

Suzanne M. Singletary's article "Dystopia: Goya's Cannibals" published in 2004, explores a series of paintings likely made around the same time as *The Disasters* about cannibals.²⁰ Although the subject is clearly different, there seems to be similar handling of the representation of the body and the common theme of the destruction of the human body. Singletary asserts that in Goya's representation of the anti-hero, with the absence of reason, the consequence is often the destruction of the body and of civilization. A similar conclusion, I

¹⁸ A. N. Anwer, "Goya's Engravings: Anatomy of a Subversive Aesthetic," *Social Scientist* 13/12 (Dec. 1985), 44-58.

¹⁹ Anwar, 52.

²⁰ Suzanne M. Singletary, "Dystopia: Goya's Cannibals," *Aurora: The Journal of the History of Art* 5 (2004), 56-81.

would argue, could be made by examining the dismemberment and destruction of the body throughout *The Disasters of War*.

Sources on Spanish Art

An article that is helpful when thinking about Spain in the nineteenth century is “Counter-rational reason: Goya’s instrumental negotiations of flesh and world” published in 2004.²¹ In this article, Lázaro-Reboll investigates the ideas of the grotesque and the monstrous in representations of the body. His contribution to the scholarship is that instead of attempting to ascribe Goya’s representations of the body to Enlightenment notions, he discusses them as “counter-rational reason,” or unreason. This article deals with *Los Caprichos*, but the way the author characterizes the prints and the representations of the body is helpful. The Enlightenment (in the French sense, particularly in artistic style) did not take hold as strongly in Spain, so an alternative is helpful when investigating Goya’s art.

Two other helpful articles are John Dowling’s “Capricho as Style in Life, Literature and Art from Zamora to Goya” in *Eighteenth Century Studies*²² and Paul Ilie’s “Capricho/Caprichoso: A Glossary of Eighteenth Century Uses” in *Hispanic Review*.²³ Dowling does not focus solely on *The Disasters*, but he provides a useful discussion of Goya’s work in context with the Spanish style. Dowling focuses on Goya’s use of wit, drama, invention, and often the grotesque, which he calls “capricho.” The Neoclassical style did not become as

²¹ Antonio Lázaro-Reboll, “Counter-rational Reason: Goya’s Instrumental Negotiations of Flesh and World,” *History of European Ideas* 30/1 (March 2004), 109-119.

²² John Dowling, “Caprichos as Style in Life, Literature and Art from Zamora to Goya,” *Eighteenth Century Studies* 10/4 (1977), 413-433.

²³ Paul Ilie, “Capricho/Caprichoso: A Glossary of Eighteenth Century Uses,” *Hispanic Review* 44/3 (Summer 1976), 239-255.

widespread in Spain as it did in other countries in Europe, so Dowling has offered another understanding of art in Spain at that time, which I found to be very helpful, especially in dealing with Goya. Ilie has compiled a topical glossary for the history of the use of the term “capricho/caprichoso” during the eighteenth century in Spain. By the time Goya created *Los Caprichos*, the term already had a long history. The changes in meanings and connotations that Ilie has documented are important not only because of Goya’s print series entitled *Los Caprichos*, but also because it shows that the way “capricho” has been used in the study of Goya’s prints is different from the way the term was used in the eighteenth century.

Other related sources

Two articles about the depiction of war in art that help in understanding how Goya’s *The Disasters* is a departure from the established tradition are Theodore K. Rabb’s “Artists and Warfare: A Study of Changing Values in Seventeenth Century Europe”²⁴ and Wendy Wassying Roworth’s “The Evolution of History Painting: Masaniello’s Revolt and Other Disasters in Seventeenth-Century Naples.”²⁵ Rabb’s article is a study of the subject of war in art and the changes during the Thirty Years War that fueled a change in the accepted perception of war and its representation in the visual arts. As early as the time of Velazquez, there was a changing attitude about war. Monarchs began commissioning artists to create less glorifying imagery of war. This change in attitude was likely well established by the time Goya was creating his plates for *The Disasters of War* during the French Occupation. Roworth’s article concerns three seventeenth-century paintings by Bernardo De Dominici depicting a contemporary revolt in

²⁴ Theodore K. Rabb, “Artists and Warfare: A Study of Changing Values in Seventeenth-Century Europe,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 75/6 (1985), 79-106.

²⁵ Wendy Wassying Roworth, “The Evolution of History Painting: Masaniello’s Revolt and Other Disasters in Seventeenth-Century Naples,” *Art Bulletin* 75/2 (June 1993), 219-234.

Naples. These paintings are significant because not only do they challenge the strict Renaissance definition of history painting, the highest esteemed subject of the visual arts, but they also were examples of how the artist could be both a recorder of events and an active participant. Although significantly earlier than Goya, De Dominici participated in a very similar dialogue with the contemporary events he was depicting and thus demonstrates a similar relationship of the artist with the images he portrayed. The artist can be both a visual recorder and a part of the depicted subject.

The article “The Expressive Body in Goya’s *Saint Francis Borgia at the Deathbed of an Impenitent*” by Andrew Schulz is about reception and an early example of Goya’s use of the nude.²⁶ Schulz is primarily concerned with better understanding the reception of this work in its original context. He examines the 1795 oration by Pedro de Silva, an important figure in Spanish art, given at the Royal Academy in San Carlos, which specifically discusses Goya’s painting. At the end of his article, he concludes that this work represents a change in Goya’s style toward both naturalism in his figures and bringing in fantasy. This certainly seems plausible when considering Goya’s later work, particularly many of his non-commissioned prints. This article is an important contribution to the body of scholarship because it discusses Goya’s painting of a semi-clothed figure in the context of the changing ideas of representation of the body during the time in which it was created. Schultz’ article is helpful because of the author’s consideration of the original reception of the work, his discussion of the historical context, and his understanding of the Spanish Academy and Goya’s oeuvre.

²⁶ Andrew Schulz, “The Expressive Body in Goya’s *Saint Francis Borgia at the Deathbed of an Impenitent*,” *Art Bulletin* 80/4 (December 1998), 666-686.

Because of Goya's frequent use of the print series, including *The Disasters of War*, an article discussing the use of the concept or category is important to consider in the state of the scholarship on *The Disasters*. John Klein's article "The Dispersal of the Modernist Series" in the *Oxford Art Journal* discusses the use of the series.²⁷ Klein's article is helpful when thinking of the series *The Disasters of War* as a complete work and not just the sum of the individual prints. Although each print can be treated as a separate work, they are also part of a series, and should be treated as such. This article helps establish what the qualities are of a traditional series, and then how this idea was challenged with the beginnings of Modernism in the nineteenth century. Traditionally, the series was displayed together, and each individual image reinforced the coherence of the complete series. However, when artists began to challenge some traditional aspects of art, there were changes in what constituted a series and its function. Klein uses the paintings of Monet of the Rouen Cathedral and the screen prints of Warhol to show that the series no longer was required to show a narrative, but the artist could merely capture different moments of vision or replicate an image within the frame. This change in the idea of the series was likely a result of the change in emphasis from the unified whole to the autonomy of each individual work. Although *The Disasters of War* could be considered more in line with the traditional understanding of the series because of the narrative aspect of the prints, Goya also seemed to place emphasis on each print as a work in and of itself, which is a more modern concept about the importance of each print as a work of art.

²⁷ John Klein, "The Dispersal of the Modernist Series," *Oxford Art Journal* 21/1 (1998), 123-135.

A particularly useful source is Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby's book *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* published in 2002.²⁸ Chapter Four in the book, "Cannibalism" is about Theodore Gericault's painting *The Raft of the Medusa*. In the chapter, Grigsby offers a detailed and lengthy discussion of the presence of the nude in the painting, and the different ways in which the nude is represented, particularly given the scene the painting portrays. Although the subject of Grigsby's chapter is a French painting, her methods and analysis of the nude bodies in the scene are helpful when looking at the graphic nude bodies and body parts in Goya's *The Disasters*. This chapter is useful in an analysis of the unclothed body because of Grigsby's method of discussing the ways the unclothed body is portrayed in the painting she examines. Her methodologies include understanding the historical context that is relevant to the scene that is being portrayed in the painting, a detailed and insightful discussion of Gericault's depiction of the unclothed bodies in the painting, and including reception and critical assessment based on primary sources. Grigsby's chapter on *The Raft of the Medusa* (Fig. 8) is useful to this thesis because her methodologies and analysis, particularly when dealing with the unclothed body, are similar to how I conduct my own analysis of the bodies portrayed in *The Disasters of War*.

In addition to the secondary sources, I have also consulted some important primary sources: a first edition of the series of prints held at the Virginia Museum of Fine Art in Richmond, Virginia. Goya had already died by the time the first edition of *The Disasters of War* was printed in 1863, and he did not leave any known writing specifically about this series, so it is difficult to know about the artist's perspective on the prints.

²⁸ Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, "Cannibalism" in *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* (London: Yale University Press, 2002).

Despite the volume of resources available about Goya and *The Disasters of War*, there is no source that deals specifically with the unclothed body. Most scholars have focused on the issues of the historical context, Goya's technique, or have offered comparisons to other works about war, though several of these comparisons do not offer beneficial insights. Even though some scholars mention the violence taking place within the prints, and that many of the figures are unclothed or partially unclothed, no scholar thus far has offered a discussion about the significance of the unclothed bodies.

Chapter Two: The Unclothed Body in Spanish Art

In the Spanish artistic tradition, the representation of the unclothed body was much more problematic than in other regions of Europe, particularly France and Italy. This is the historical backdrop against which Goya produced the images in his series *The Disasters of War*, and a review of these circumstances sheds light on his depiction of the unclothed body in that series.

The strong Catholic presence and statewide censorship by the monarchy and the Inquisition all made representation of the nude, especially the female, highly contested. Janis Tomlinson, in an article on art censorship in eighteenth-century Spain, provides a telling example of the practice.²⁹ As she writes, in 1762, King Charles III ordered Anton Raphael Mengs, then the First Court Painter, to gather together all paintings within the royal collection that portrayed the unclothed body, for the purpose of burning them. However, Mengs persuaded the king to instead store the paintings in his studio, which included five works by Titian, a lost version of a sleeping Venus, two versions of *Venus and the Organ Player*, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Danae*, as well as works by Paolo Veronese, Agostino Caracci, and Peter Paul Rubens.³⁰

²⁹ For a discussion of the censorship practices, specifically regarding the nude, during the eighteenth century in Spain, see Janis Tomlinson, "Burn It, Hide It, Flaunt It: Goya's *Majas* and the Censorial Mind," *Art Journal* 50/4 (Winter 1991), 59-64.

³⁰ Tomlinson, "Burn It," 61.

Again in 1792, Charles IV had a similar idea and again, he was persuaded to store rather than burn the paintings, this time by the Marqués de Santa Cruz, moving them to the Royal Academy at San Fernando. The paintings continued to be moved: under the reign of Joseph Bonaparte they were placed on view at the Academy, in 1814 after the expulsion of Napoleon and the return of Fernando VII, they were placed back into storage, and in 1827 they were turned over to the building that would later become the Prado Museum. It is clear from the frequency of the movement and the attempts by two monarchs to have them burned that the subject matter of these paintings was highly contested.

As Tomlinson further notes, in addition to the dominant presence of the Catholic Church and censorship by the monarchy and the Inquisition, it was widely believed that the general population did not understand the difference between a painted image and its corresponding reality.³¹ According to this logic, when confronted with an image of an unclothed human body, particularly a female body, a person would see a real unclothed person, and thus, erotic or sexual feelings would stir in the viewer and lead to sin. For example, in Goya's *Maja desnuda* (Fig. 9), which portrays a completely unclothed female lounging on a chair with her gaze directed at the viewer, that painting -- according to the rationale of the censors -- would arouse the male viewer and incite sinful desires in him. These conservative beliefs began to wane later in the nineteenth century and were replaced by the belief that the painted image differs from reality in its aesthetic qualities.³² As Tomlinson further illustrates, the logic also followed that these qualities may be discerned by the viewer, although this ability to discern was dependent on the artistic knowledge and sophistication of the viewer, which was also tied to class and wealth.

³¹ Tomlinson, "Burn It," 61.

³² Tomlinson, "Burn It," 61.

Due to these factors, artistic representation of the unclothed body in Spain was highly problematic and extremely limited. Generally, the male and female unclothed bodies were bound to the subject matter of Christian iconographic scenes or stories from classical antiquity. Some examples of the unclothed body portrayed in religious scenes include: Jusepe de Ribera's *The Martyrdom of Saint Philip* (1639) (Fig. 10), Francisco Ribalta's *Christ Embracing Saint Bernard* (ca. 1622) (Fig. 11), and Francisco de Zurbarán's *Saint Luke as a Painter before Christ on the Cross* (ca. 1660) (Fig. 12). In these paintings, the unclothed subjects (Saint Philip and Christ) are presented without clothes because of the context in which they are placed. Saint Philip is moments from being crucified upside down and becoming a martyr, traditionally believed to be alongside Bartholomew (also known as Nathanael). In Ribalta's depiction of Saint Bernard and Christ, the artist shows the saint's vision of Christ on the cross appearing to him during prayer, then reaching down off the cross to embrace Bernard to his chest. Thus, because Christ is on the cross, he is depicted as wearing no garments. Finally, in Zurbarán's portrayal of Saint Luke and Christ, again, Christ is on the cross, so his lack of clothing is warranted. Notably, even though these figures are portrayed unclothed, they are all wearing a cloth covering over their pubic area.

These examples illustrate that even within the accepted subject of religious scenes, the unclothed body was generally limited to male bodies, and the body was not entirely unclothed. The style in which these bodies were depicted is in line with the accepted Spanish tradition, which was the idealization of the body in the academic way. As we shall see, these examples of the unclothed body in the academic style are similar in representation to those in the nude mode in Goya's *The Disasters of War*. The artists have rendered the body in a way that accentuates the muscular definition, shows the body in a variety of poses that highlights the artist's ability and skill with draftsmanship, and displays the body as a vehicle for a higher or noble purpose.

Another generally accepted moment in which Spanish artists could portray the unclothed body was in painting scenes from classical antiquity. Two paintings by Diego Velázquez offer some helpful examples of the unclothed body in classical scenes: *Los Borrachos* (or *The Feast of Bacchus*) (Before 1629) (Fig. 13) and *The Forge of Vulcan* (1630) (Fig. 14). In Emily Umberger's article on the painting, she describes *Los Borrachos* as what is known as a "teoxina," or a visit from one of the gods to mortals.³³ In the bacchanal scene, Bacchus and the reclining figure to his left are both shown without the contemporary clothing of the men gathered around them. Their unclothed state may perhaps be a signifier of their status as gods, and to further identifies them from the mortals that surround them. Additionally, Bacchus' slightly rounded stomach further illustrates him as the god of wine. Umberger further notes that Bacchus and his companion are also shown as both younger and in a lighter tone than the men in contemporary clothing.³⁴ As Umberger notes, a possible source for the painting is a drawing by Jan Saenredam, *Bacchus and Peasants* (1596) (Fig. 15). The artist portrays Bacchus offering alcohol to peasants in order to help them forget their troubles.³⁵ Umberger goes on to discuss the naturalism present in the rendering of the human and divine figures in this painting as a commentary by Velázquez on the practice of idealism in the more traditional school of art. The combination of their naturalism and the juxtaposition of the two groups of figures contributed to the wit of the painting.

In *The Forge of Vulcan*, Vulcan and the cyclops display their toned torsos, arms and legs, and their only garment is a covering wrapped around their hips. Apollo wears a brightly colored

³³ Emily Umberger, "Velázquez and Naturalism I: Interpreting 'Los Borrachos,'" *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 24 (Autumn 1993), 28.

³⁴ Umberger, "Velázquez and Naturalism I: Interpreting 'Los Borrachos,'" 28.

³⁵ Umberger, "Velázquez and Naturalism I: Interpreting 'Los Borrachos,'" 28.

toga that allows his right side to be exposed and reveal his toned torso and arm. John Moffit suggests a different approach than Umberger's argument about the naturalism of Velázquez's paintings portraying antique subject matter. Moffit's article argues for the moralizing intention in Velázquez's paintings offers a brief discussion of *The Forge of the Vulcan*. According to these sources, the Vulcan is portrayed with an unattractive face, and he is shown as a master of crafts because he was supposedly a maker of thunderbolts and weapons for the gods.³⁶

Two other notable kinds of representation of the unclothed human body occurred in the seventeenth century. Juan Carreño de Miranda's (1614-1685) pendant portraits of Eugenia Martínez Vallejo, known as *La Monstrua Desnuda (Bacchus)* (Fig. 16), and *La Monstrua Vestida* (Fig. 17), were both painted ca. 1680 and were commissioned by Charles II. They are currently located at the Prado Museum. As was common practice in Spain in the seventeenth century, people with unusual physical qualities were brought to court for entertainment purposes, though not necessarily with the negative connotation that might be inferred by modern understanding. In 1680, Eugenia was brought to the court because of her large proportions, and these two portraits were painted around the same time. In *La Monstrua Desnuda*, she is portrayed with a crown of grape leaves and a large leaf covers her pubic area, so that she is dressed in the style of Bacchus. The pendant, *La Monstrua Vestida*, shows the sitter in a red dress with a floral design that calls attention to her large size. Although these paintings are similar to Goya's *Majas* because they are clothed and unclothed pendants of a female figure, they are more similar to portraits of dwarves like Velázquez's *Don Sebastian de Morra* (ca. 1645) (Fig. 18) and *The Court Dwarf, Don Francisco Lescano called "El Niño del Vallecas"*

³⁶ John F. Moffit, "The 'Euhemeristic' Mythologies of Velázquez," *Artibus et Historiae* 10/19 (1989), 162.

(1637) (Fig. 19), as well as the female dwarf figure in *Las Meninas* (1656)(Fig. 20). Goya may have known these works, and I will return to them and their relationship to Goya's depiction of the unclothed body in a later section of this thesis.

A final type of representation of the unclothed body is the anatomical image. An example of this can be seen in the work of Juan Ricci (ca. 1659). As Ellen Prokop notes, some drawings from *La pintura sabia* (ca. 1659) (Figs. 21, 22, and 23) portray the musculature of a man holding his own skin, a standing man with a cross section removed from his abdomen to reveal his internal organs, and a cross section of the torso of a standing female.³⁷ Although these studies are significant as part of the scholarship on the study of art and the body in seventeenth century Spain, because of their largely anatomical and scientific function, simply noting their presence seems sufficient for this study of the unclothed body. They are not similar to Goya's representation of the unclothed body.

This survey of the representation of the unclothed body in Spanish art has shown that the unclothed body was a highly contested subject in seventeenth-century Spain. When artists did choose to portray the unclothed body, it could be subject to censorship by the monarchy, and it had to be used to represent acceptable subjects, usually religious or classical. The male body was much more frequently represented than the female body. In the next section of this chapter, I will present a survey of the representation of the unclothed body in Goya's oeuvre, which will be organized chronologically and by subject matter. I will discuss the ways in which Goya's works

³⁷ Ellen Prokop, "Painting from Memory, A Pietà by Fray Juan Ricci," in *Art in Spain and the Hispanic World, Essays in Honor of Jonathan Brown*, London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2010, 120-121.

are both similar and different from the established seventeenth-century Spanish tradition outlined in the previous section.

Goya's Early Works: Religious Scenes and the Unclothed Body

Goya had arrived in Madrid in 1775 from his hometown of Saragossa after spending nearly a year studying art in Italy during 1770. He traveled throughout Rome, and he drew and sketched sculptures and paintings. These drawings were collected and bound into a notebook, known as Goya's Italian Notebook, which is now in the collection of the Prado Museum in Madrid.³⁸ This collection of drawings includes many studies of classical sculptures and paintings, many of which focus on the unclothed body. Some examples of these studies include the Belvedere Torso (Fig. 24) and the Farnese Hercules (Fig. 25).³⁹

As a student of the visual arts in eighteenth-century Spain, Goya studied and drew from the live nude at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando in Madrid. The Royal Academy was established under the reign of Ferdinand VI in 1752.⁴⁰ In its early years, many of the Academy's instructors were imported from other areas of Europe, specifically France and Italy, where the methodologies of painting technique were more firmly established. The relationship of the monarch as a patron and the Spanish artists at the Academy was fostered during Charles III's reign. Beginning during the reign of King Charles IV in the later eighteenth century, the Academy began to be comprised of more Spanish painters including Mariano

³⁸ Juliet Wilson-Bareau and Manuela B. Mena Marqués, *Goya, Truth and Fantasy, The Small Paintings*, Exh. cat., Museo del Prado. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994, 92.

³⁹ Joan Sureda, ed., *Goya & Italy*, Exh. cat.. (Saragossa: Museo de Zaragoza, 2008), 103.

⁴⁰ Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Goya's Prints: The Tomás Harris Collection in the British Museum*, London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1981, 9.

Maella, Francisco Bayeu, Antonio González Velázquez, and Francisco Goya.⁴¹ Goya was taught by Francisco Bayeu in his studio, and Bayeu (also his future brother-in-law) was a student of Anton Raphael Mengs, an important court painter in Madrid.⁴² In 1763, Goya was selected to work with Mengs on frescoes that would decorate the Palacio Real, and in 1765, Goya entered the Royal Academy of San Fernando.⁴³ While at the Academy, Goya engaged in training including drawing and drafting, copying works of art, particularly the paintings by Diego Velázquez, and, as previously noted, studying the live nude model.⁴⁴

Goya began his early painting career in Madrid by producing cartoons, primarily for tapestry. Anton Raphael Mengs, a court painter for King Charles III, requested that Goya come to court to paint. In the 1770s and 1780s, Goya created tapestries depicting images of the everyday life of lower class people to decorate halls for the future King Charles IV and Manuel Godoy, an important member of the nobility in Spain.⁴⁵ In addition to these tapestry paintings, Goya also produced many religious scenes both on canvas and in frescoes. As he continued to establish his talent as an artist to those at court, he was commissioned to paint portraits of the wealthy aristocracy in Madrid, including the Duke and Duchess of Osuna, who would continue

⁴¹ Wilson-Bareau, 9.

⁴² Eleanor A. Sayre, *The Changing Image: Prints by Francisco Goya*, Exh. cat., Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1974, 3.

⁴³ Robert Hughes, *Goya*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003, 34.

⁴⁴ For a selection of treatises on painting instruction in Spain, see: Zahira Veliz, ed., *Artists' Techniques in Golden Age Spain: Six Treatises in Translation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. The use of the live nude model, and the practice of copying are both encouraged in the treatises. These kinds of documents would have been important in the foundation of the practices at the Royal Academy in Madrid, so it is likely that Goya would also have been instructed in these ways.

⁴⁵ Janis A. Tomlinson, *Goya in the Twilight of the Enlightenment*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 2.

to be some of Goya's most devoted patrons. In 1786, he became a court tapestry painter for the Spanish monarch, Charles III. However, in 1788 Charles III died. The Prince of Asturias, one of Goya's most important patrons, assumed the throne two months later as Charles IV. In April of 1789, the new King appointed Goya to a position as a court painter.

Although the study of the live nude model was an important part of the training in the Spanish Academy, as previously noted, the presence of the fully unclothed human body is much less prevalent in Spanish art than in the French and Italian traditions upon which the Royal Academy in Madrid was based. During the reigns of Charles III and Charles IV, the two dominant subjects of court painting were portraits and religious scenes. Because portraits and some religious scenes did not require the depicted persons to be unclothed, representations of the unclothed body in Spanish art during this time were somewhat limited. During the 1790s, while Goya continued to produce commissioned portraits for the monarchy and other wealthy patrons, he also began experimenting with other styles and subject matter. His paintings explored genre scenes and began to contain the dark mood that his later works portray.

A number of Goya's early religious works are evidence of his engagement with the unclothed body. One example is his painting *The Burial of Christ* (ca. 1770- 1772) (Fig. 26), which is now in the collection at the Lázaro Galdiano Museum in Madrid. This painting shows the placement of Christ's body into the borrowed tomb, covered in white drapery cloth and prominently showing the stigmata on his hands. Christ's body is accompanied by a woman at his feet, presumably Mary Magdalene, shown in a red dress with a blue cloak. She kneels and tends to his feet, cleansing them with her hair, the feature that typically signifies her presence in a painting, and the liquid kept in a vessel by her knees. Christ's body is also flanked on either side by two angelic figures, supporting his torso under either arm. At the top on the left of the

painting, there are two additional mourning figures, one of them perhaps being the Virgin Mary at the far left. The dead body of Christ is being prepared for burial, which was typically a job reserved for the women, and this is represented in this painting.

At the center, Christ's body, though partially covered by a white cloth, displays muscular definition, and the painter covered his midsection with a draped cloth to preserve his modesty, which was a traditional practice. The arms, abdomen and legs of Christ's body are muscular despite the fact that the life has left his body. This musculature is also present in the arms of the angels that are on either side. In this painting, Goya represents the body of Christ in an idealized, and academic style. This painting was created contemporaneously with Goya's travels to Italy, which can be seen as evidence in the classical features of the figures in their clothing and musculature. These sorts of idealized bodies done in the academic style would later be seen in several prints of *The Disasters of War*.

Another example of the unclothed body in Goya's oeuvre is another example of a scene of the life of Christ, *The Baptism of Christ* (ca. 1771-1775) (Fig. 27), now in the collection at Count Orgaz in Madrid. This painting portrays the baptism of Christ in the River Jordan by John the Baptist. In keeping with the scriptural story of this event, Goya has also chosen to depict the dove that appeared above Christ, which is a representation of the Holy Spirit. Both Christ and Saint John are shown clothed only by a draped fabric tied around their waists. Similar to the previously discussed painting, both figures also display well-defined musculature. As Wilson-Bareau suggests, Christ's posture is similar to the figure of Adam in a drawing of the expulsion from the garden in his Italian Notebook.⁴⁶ There is little detail to suggest a landscape or setting

⁴⁶ Wilson-Bareau and Marqués, *Goya, Truth and Fantasy*, 110.

for this painting. Instead, Goya focuses his attention on the two figures, their physicality, and thus, the humanity of Christ and Saint John the Baptist. Like the previously discussed painting, this painting of Christ portrays his body in the idealized mode.

Yet another example of Goya's use of the unclothed body in religious painting is his *Christ Crucified* (1780) (Fig. 28), now in the collection of the Prado Museum. This painting depicts Christ on the cross, and there is virtually no other background present in the scene. Despite the violence that took place at the crucifixion, Christ's body is shown with slight suggestions of blood around the four nails placed in his hands and feet, and a trickle of blood from the crown of thorns on his brow. At the top of the cross, there is a plaque of wood with text in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, which reads "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews."⁴⁷ Goya chose to use four nails for Christ's hands and feet based on a seventeenth century established tradition for Spanish religious art.

Goya's representation of the body in this work is similar to that of Diego Velázquez's painting by the same name (ca. 1632) (Fig. 29), and Francisco de Zurbarán's painting *Christ Crucified, with Sponsor*, (1640) (Fig. 30), both in the Prado Museum's collection. All three artists represented the crucifixion in a way that focuses on the corporeality of the body of Christ, minimizes the violence inflicted upon this body, and eliminates nearly all detail in the surrounding space. Although the painting by Goya differs in his application of the paint, particularly noticeable in the face of Christ, Goya maintains the Spanish artistic tradition of the portrayal of the crucified Christ.

⁴⁷ Author's translation of Latin "IESUS NAZARENVS REX IVD AEROVM"

Goya's representation of the partially unclothed body in religious painting extends beyond his representations of Christ. Another early work that portrays the unclothed body in the context of religious subject matter is *Saint Francis Borgia at the Deathbed of an Impenitent*, (1788) (Fig. 2) and found at the Valencia Cathedral. The painting and its pendant, *Saint Francis Borgia Saying Farewell to his Family* (1788) (Fig. 31), were painted for the chapel of San Francisco de Borja in the Valencia Cathedral. Saint Francis Borgia was born in Valencia in 1510, and he was the son of wealthy and established parents. In 1536, he married a Portuguese woman and she bore eight children. Ten years later, his wife passed away, and he began making plans to enter the Order of the Jesuits (the Society of Jesus), which was fairly new at the time. In 1554, he became the Commissary-General for Spain, and in 1565 the Superior General for the Society of Jesus. Despite his successes and high-ranking position within the Jesuit order, he lived a relatively simple life. He died in 1572, and he was canonized in 1670. The paintings of the saint's life in Valencia Cathedral were commissioned by the Countess Duchess of Benavente and Gandía, who would become the Duchess of Osuna in 1787.⁴⁸ The Duke and Duchess would become two of Goya's most devoted patrons, and because of their relationship, Goya likely felt more freedom to experiment with his style in works he created for the Duke and Duchess.⁴⁹

The painting depicts Saint Francis Borgia holding a crucifix, which expels a small stream of blood onto a man lying rigidly on a bed, his body partially exposed. By the painting's title, we are to assume that this man is a sinner who refuses to recant his sin and turn to God, which explains the rigidness of his body and the pained expression on his face. The scene takes place on the deathbed of the man, where the curtains and a circular window indicate an interior space.

⁴⁸ Wilson-Bareau and Marqués, *Goya, Truth and Fantasy*, 146.

⁴⁹ Schulz, "The Expressive Body," 684.

Finally, three fantastic figures surround the head and body of the dying man, perhaps creatures to take the man's soul to the underworld, or representations of the spirits that had possessed the man during his life.

This painting is a departure from the established artistic tradition because of the way the body of the dying man is portrayed, and the addition of the three mystical creatures hovering over the man's body. While in his earlier religious works, Goya sought to prove his ability to master the established tradition of handling his subject matter; in his later works, beginning with *Saint Francis Borgia at the Deathbed of an Impenitent*, Goya's style becomes more expressive, and he experiments with a more naturalistic representation.⁵⁰ The dying man is not depicted in the academic style like in the paintings of Christ discussed previously, but in a more realistic mode. This, as we shall see, is a shift that is important to the study of the nude in Goya's *Disasters of War*.

In a preliminary drawing (Fig. 32), the composition resembles that of *The Death of Saint Joseph* (1787), painted a year earlier, which is now in the convent of Santa Ana in Valladolid.⁵¹ In this painting, Joseph lies on his bed, his mouth open, but a relaxed posture and facial expression. Mary stands on Joseph's left, leaning softly toward Christ, who stands on Joseph's right. Mary and Joseph also display softened expressions and gesture gently toward Joseph. In the drawing for the *Saint Francis Borgia* painting, it appears that Goya originally intended an exorcism because of the posture of Saint Francis Borgia and the presence of angelic figures (though perhaps the one by the window may have horns, it may be shown fleeing as it has been

⁵⁰ Schulz, "The Expressive Body," 678.

⁵¹ Schulz, "The Expressive Body," 675.

exorcised)⁵² instead of the monsters in the final painting.⁵³ The second draft for the painting was a painted sketch made 1787- 1788 (Fig. 33), now in the collection of the Marchioness of Santa Cruz, in Madrid. This second draft includes several changes to the composition. The Saint has been placed further away from the dying man, and he is now shown in a frontal instead of a side view. His gesture has also been modified from holding the crucifix and gesturing directly to the man's face, to holding the crucifix, but raising his left hand up with his fingers spread and his body turned away from the man. Secondly, the man's body has become more exposed, its rigidity has been more emphasized, and his pained expression has been made more pronounced. The composition of the scene has also changed to essentially a two-sided image. On the right, the Saint, the window, and a table with a vessel, likely filled with Holy Water; and on the left, the dying man, the monstrous creatures, and the curtain that creates the darkness around the man.⁵⁴ Finally, the figures in the background have been changed from winged, and likely angelic figures (perhaps except the figure by the window, mentioned previously) to a cluster of monsters with animal-like features that gaze at the dying man with grave anticipation.⁵⁵ In the final version, the figure of Saint Francis Borgia has been idealized, the brushwork is smoother, and a halo appears around his head. The body of the dying man has been even further exposed through the pulling back of the bedding, but the rigidity and tenseness remains. His expressive face and sunken features also remain in the final painting. In addition to maintaining the division of the picture plane of the Saint and the man, both figures are handled differently, with the Saint being painted with finer attention to detail and smoother brush strokes, and the dying man being handled in a

⁵² Wilson-Bareau and Marqués, *Goya, Truth and Fantasy*, 150.

⁵³ Schulz, "The Expressive Body," 677.

⁵⁴ Wilson-Bareau and Marqués, *Goya, Truth and Fantasy*, 150.

⁵⁵ Wilson-Bareau and Marqués, *Goya, Truth and Fantasy*, 150.

much looser fashion so the brushwork is more visible.⁵⁶ Goya has reduced the monster figures to three, and they are also produced with greater detail and clarity than in the drawing and the painted sketch.

Goya's early paintings that depict religious subjects are in keeping with the established artistic traditions in Spain during the eighteenth century in both motif and representation of the figures. The religious paintings discussed above are examples of Goya's use of the classical rendering of the body, similar to the sculptures and paintings he saw while in Italy and at the Academy of San Fernando in Madrid. These foundational paintings were part of Goya's training and experience as an artist, and the idealization and portraying of the muscular forms of the body continued to be an important aspect of his work, particularly in *The Disasters of War*. Like the paintings of Christ discussed previously, the idealized bodies Goya portrayed in *The Disasters of War* are depicted in a similar mode, but in very different contexts.

Small Tinplate Paintings and *The Bandits' Attack*

This section will discuss three small paintings on tinplate that were part of a series of cabinet paintings Goya made after his illness in 1792.⁵⁷ I will also discuss two small-scale paintings on canvas that are the last two paintings in *The Bandits Attack* series. Although these paintings portray the human body in a style similar to that employed in the religious paintings previously discussed, their subject matter differs greatly. There are several ways in which these small paintings portray the human body similarly to the bodies in *The Disasters of War*. The first similarity is the secular subject matter of the depicted scenes. These paintings are secular in

⁵⁶ Schulz, "The Expressive Body," 683.

⁵⁷ Pérez Sánchez, Alfonso E. and Eleanor A. Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, Exh. cat., Boston: Bulfinch Press, 1989, 48. In 1792, Goya became ill, and

nature, and thereby, place the subject of the unclothed body within a different context than traditional religious or antique subjects, and thus, change the way in which the body is presented to the viewer.

The first painting that will be discussed is *Yard with Lunatics* (1793-1794) (Fig. 34) at the Meadows Museum at Southern Methodist University in Dallas. Like the other paintings made during this time, it is a relatively small work (43.6 x 32.4 cm.). Goya describes this series of paintings in a letter to his friend and fellow member of the Academy, Bernardo de Iriarte: “In order to distract my mind, mortified by reflection on my misfortunes, and in order to recoup some of the expenses they have occasioned, I executed a series of cabinet pictures, in which I have managed to make observations that commissioned works ordinarily do not allow, and in which fantasy and invention have no place.”⁵⁸ Four days later, Goya writes again to Iriarte, “I am satisfied about the paintings remaining in Your Illustrious Lordship’s house as long as desired as I am to finish another I have begun: representing a courtyard with lunatics, in which two naked men fight with their warden, who pummels them, and others with sacks (a scene I have witnessed in Zaragoza), which I will send to Your Illustrious Lordship so that it will round off the series.”⁵⁹

A helpful discussion of this painting is an article by Peter K. Klein, “Insanity and the Sublime: Aesthetics and Theories of Mental Illness in Goya’s *Yard with Lunatics* and Related Works.” This article is an investigation into the theories of madness and the sublime in relationship with Goya’s portrayal of mental illness. Klein discusses earlier scholarship on this work, but contributes to the scholarship through his consideration of the historical context of the

⁵⁸ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 48.

⁵⁹ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 48.

asylum, psychiatric practices at the time, established motifs for depicting the mentally ill, and Goya's artistic style.⁶⁰ Two paintings are the main source of analysis: *Yard with Lunatics* and *Madhouse*. Klein begins with a history of the Saragossa hospital including conditions, the type of patients and their conditions that occupied the hospital, and comparison with other known hospitals in Spain and abroad. He also discusses important theories of the sublime, and the beginnings of the established tradition of representing madness (especially considering the rise of physiognomy). Klein is concerned with the issue of mental illness, and his discussion of Goya's representation of the sublime and violent acts is important to consider when examining Goya's representations of the body and violence.

Although Goya's representation of madness is certainly central to discussing this painting, I would argue that his use of the unclothed body for several of the figures, including the two wrestling men at the painting's center, is also a critical point of discussion. In addition to the two central figures, there is a man crawling on the right, just behind the seated man, who appears to be unclothed save for a small sash or wrap around his waist. The seated man and the man on the left with his arms folded, though they are not unclothed, have pronounced musculature. Despite the darkness of the background of the painting, the physicality and unclothed state of the figures in the foreground is significant. Additionally, Goya's subject matter has shifted from scenes portraying antiquity and Christian iconography to contemporary places and situations. This shift, in conjunction with the portrayal of the unclothed human body, shows how Goya is challenging the boundaries of accepted art in the conservative artistic tradition in Spain. Goya's portrayal of the body in *Yard with Lunatics* is similar to some of the unclothed figures in the

⁶⁰ Klein, Peter K., "Insanity and the Sublime: Aesthetics and Theories of Mental Illness in Goya's *Yard with Lunatics* and Related Works," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 61 (1998), 200.

nude mode in *The Disasters of War*. The emphasis on the physicality of the muscular bodies, and the variety of poses of the bodies are two ways in which these works are similar. In *Yard with Lunatics*, the partially unclothed bodies are of patients in a mental hospital, so although the bodies are muscular and idealized, the minds of the persons who occupy these bodies are imperfect. In *The Disasters of War*, the unclothed bodies are also muscular and idealized, but the persons depicted are usually dead, so also imperfect.

Another painting in this series is *Shipwreck* (1793-1794) (Fig. 35), which is in a private collection. The painting depicts a cluster of people climbing to safety on rocks just moments after their ship has sunk. In the foreground, each individual is portrayed with expressions and gestures of supplication, begging for salvation from their plight. Aside from the man helping a woman climb onto the large rock in the left foreground, each person is shown as fending for himself or herself for survival.⁶¹ Just beyond the foreground, under the angled rock, a dark remnant of the ship can be seen as it plummets to the sea.⁶² Further in the background on the right, more struggling survivors from the wreck can be seen as tiny figures climbing onto rocks.

In a discussion of this painting in the catalog *Goya's Realism*, the author Vibeke Vibolt Knudsen mentions a few unclothed bodies in the painting. She notes the central female figure, whose breasts are exposed as she reaches up in supplication.⁶³ She also mentions the woman who is being helped onto the rock, whose bottom is bare.⁶⁴ Although these two figures are

⁶¹ Knudsen, Vibeke Vibolt, *Goya's Realism*, Exh. cat., Copenhagen: Statens Museum for Kunst, 2000, 186.

⁶² Knudsen, *Goya's Realism*, 186.

⁶³ Knudsen, *Goya's Realism*, 186.

⁶⁴ Knudsen, *Goya's Realism*, 186.

important in a discussion of the unclothed body in this painting, Knudsen fails to mention the completely unclothed male figure lying down on the rock in the foreground. The man's head is not visible due to the angle of the rocks on which he is lying, but his arms, torso and legs are completely exposed to the viewer. He is resting out of complete exhaustion from his struggle, or perhaps he is dead. The combination of this male figure with the eroticism of the two female figures mentioned previously creates a juxtaposition, which is further complicated by the dire situation that is taking place in the painting.

Once again, Goya has portrayed the unclothed body within a context that does not fall into the categories of either religious or classical subject matter. Though it has not been suggested in the scholarship that the shipwreck being portrayed was based on a particular contemporary event, the fairly modern clothing that is worn by the persons in the painting is keeping with Goya's style in this time period. The central female figure in *Shipwreck* is similar to the Truth figure in the caprichos enfáticos section of *The Disasters*. Although these two female figures are similar in their representation including bare breasts and a similar style of dress, they differ in that the Truth figure is symbolic whereas the female in *Shipwreck* does not symbolize a particular virtue or quality. The other partially unclothed figures in *Shipwreck* resemble the non-idealized, or the realistic mode, bodies in *The Disasters of War* because of their lack of muscular definition.

The next painting that will be considered in this series is *The Interior of a Prison* (1793-1794) (Fig. 36), at the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle in Durham County, Great Britain. The painting portrays several prisoners in an interior space, in various positions and postures, some partially unclothed, and all chained at the wrists and/or legs. The practice of keeping prisoners continuously chained was the norm in Madrid, as was torture and violence, regardless of guilt or

innocence.⁶⁵ Goya has depicted the prisoners in a variety of postures, and also with a variety of expressions. Goya continued to depict the subject of prisoners in around fifteen preparatory drawings in Album C, and their corresponding etchings, most produced between 1810 and 1814.⁶⁶ Many of these drawings portray prisoners who are victims of the Inquisition Tribunal, and whose crimes included having Jewish ancestry (*Pr linage de ebreos*, Album C, page 88, ca. 1810-1814) (Fig. 37),⁶⁷ having no legs (*Por no tener piernas*, Album C, page 90, ca. 1810-1814) (Fig. 38),⁶⁸ choosing whom to marry (*Por casarse con quien quiso*, Album C, page 93, ca. 1810-1814) (Fig. 39),⁶⁹ discovering the earth's movement (an allusion to Galileo Galilei) (*Por descubrir el movimiento de la tierra*, Album C, page 94, ca. 1810-1814) (Fig. 40),⁷⁰ and being a liberal (*Pr Liberal?*, Album C, page 98, ca. 1810-1814) (Fig. 41), likely meaning someone who supported the revolutionary ideas held by many Enlightenment philosophers.⁷¹ By portraying the prisoners being treated with violence and excessive restraints, and acknowledging the crimes they have been accused of committing, Goya creates a juxtaposition that highlights the harshness of the punishment and questions the methods of the judicial system in place under the Inquisition. From these examples, both the painting *Interior of a Prison* and the drawings mentioned previously, it appears that Goya was interested in the excessive use of violence and

⁶⁵ Knudsen, *Goya's Realism*, 38-39.

⁶⁶ Knudsen, *Goya's Realism*, 39.

⁶⁷ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 222.

⁶⁸ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 224.

⁶⁹ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 226.

⁷⁰ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 228.

⁷¹ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 233.

torture applied to prisoners, and through these images, he has challenged the validity of the methods of the Inquisition.

The final paintings that will be discussed in this section are the last two paintings from the *Bandits Attack* series of three paintings: *Bandits Stripping and Raping Two Women (The Bandits' Attack II)* (ca. 1798-1800) (Fig. 6) and *Bandits Murdering a Woman (The Bandits' Attack III)* (ca. 1798-1800) (Fig. 7), both in the Marqués de la Romana Collection in Madrid. In the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, robbery by gangs of bandits along the roads from Madrid to Seville was a very real worry for travelers.⁷² In fact, Goya travelled these routes, and he was likely fearful of this kind of attack.⁷³ As the paintings of the series indicate, robbery was not always the end result in these attacks; they sometimes ended in violence and murder. The subject of robbery of a coach by bandits had been the subject of two earlier paintings by Goya: *Attack on a Coach* (1793) (Fig. 42) in a private collection, and *Highwaymen Attacking a Coach* (1786-1787), also in a private collection. Although these two works are similar in subject matter to *The Bandits Attack* series, the latter are a grim continuation of the story of the attack.

While the first painting in *The Bandits Attack* series, *Bandits Shooting Male Prisoners (The Bandits' Attack I)* (ca. 1798-1800) (Fig. 5), takes place outside near a rocky terrain, *Bandits Stripping and Raping Two Women* (Fig. 6) and *Bandit Murdering a Woman* (Fig. 7), have been moved to an interior space, likely a cave.⁷⁴ The second painting in the series portrays the impending humiliation and violence against the women of the traveling group. The painting's central figure, a standing unclothed female, is being stripped of her final piece of clothing, her

⁷² Knudsen, *Goya's Realism*, 36.

⁷³ Knudsen, *Goya's Realism*, 36.

⁷⁴ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 277.

shift dress. Her fair skin and curvy figure are shown in contrast to the darkness and the shadowed figure of the man removing her clothes. The woman in the painting's foreground turns her head and uses her hand to shield her eyes from the terrible act that is about to take place.⁷⁵ The woman in the background is shown in the midst of being raped by the man with the foolish grin on his face.⁷⁶ She also has turned her face away from her attacker, and she has clasped her hands together, perhaps praying or pleading for mercy. The stark contrast of light and dark in both the figures and the entire picture plane contribute to the dramatic tension of the depicted scene. The standing woman's light skin, the highlights of white on her shift dress, and the white light shining through the cave's entrance are the only sources of light within the scene. The otherwise muted palette correlates with the darkness of the painting's subject matter.

The final painting in the series, *Bandit Murdering a Woman*, portrays the last act of violence in the narrative. A man is shown straddling an unclothed woman, perhaps the same woman shown standing in the previous painting, and he holds a dagger inches above her chest. As in *Bandits Stripping and Raping Two Women*, the woman's skin is highlighted by the aerial light source. Although the man wears a bright yellow vest and a pale blue shirt, his skin, face, hair, and lower half of his body are dark in comparison. This motif of lightness of the female and darkness of the male figures was used previously by Goya in a drawing, and its subsequent print entitled *They carried her off!* (*Que se la llevaron!* Drawing for Pl. 8 of *Los Caprichos*, 1797-1798, Museo del Prado, Madrid) (Fig. 44), which also depicts a scene of impending violence against a woman.⁷⁷ In addition to the contrast of light and dark, the presence of a trail of bright

⁷⁵ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 277.

⁷⁶ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 278.

⁷⁷ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 278.

red behind the woman's head adds to the imminent violence that will occur in mere moments.⁷⁸

The woman is shown resisting in these final moments by raising her knee and opening her mouth in a scream. Similar to the previous painting, this terrible scene takes place in an interior space, highlighted by an exterior light source, and contrasted by the dark and shadowed interior.

In the works discussed previously, Goya shifted from traditional portrayal of the body in religious and classical subjects, to placing the unclothed body in secular and often contemporary subject matter. By inserting the unclothed body into secular subject matter, Goya not only challenged the established artistic tradition, but he also altered the function that the unclothed body served within the picture plane. In these paintings, the body is no longer a vehicle for the spiritual or classical, but its corporality and its physicality are emphasized as its primary functions. This is a notable shift in the representation of the body in Goya's art. It is this shift in context that becomes one of the important elements of the portrayal of the unclothed body in *The Disasters of War*. It is the contrast between the dismemberment of the physical body and its portrayal not in an academic study drawing, but in a print depicting the violence of war, that is one of the most notable qualities of Goya's portrayal of the body in *The Disasters*.

Truth, Time and History

The next examples of the unclothed body in Goya's oeuvre are the painted sketch *Time, Truth and History* (*Truth Rescued by Time, Witnessed by History*) (1797-1800) (Fig. 45) at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the final painting, *Truth, Time and History* (*Allegory on the Adoption of the Constitution of 1812*) (1797-1800/ 1812-1814) (Fig. 46)⁷⁹ at the

⁷⁸ Knudsen, *Goya's Realism*, 37.

⁷⁹ There is some debate about the date the final painting was produced. Some scholars have noted its similarities with another allegorical painting by Goya, *Allegory of the City of Madrid*

Nationalmuseum in Stockholm. Although the figures and their arrangement within the picture plane for the study and the final painting share some similarities, there are some important changes that were made.

In the painted sketch, three unclothed figures are portrayed in scant detail, placed against an obscure background, but all three are pictured with their signifying objects that suggest their identities. The motifs and objects used to signify the three persons are taken from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (the first edition published in 1593), although the final painting is depicted in much more detail with reference to the symbols associated with each figure.⁸⁰ On the left, the standing female is Truth. She is held at the wrist by the winged figure of Time, who carries the signifying object of the hourglass. Finally, the seated figure is History, who is usually portrayed with wings, records the events in her book, but still looks backwards toward the past. The wings of Time, with their bright white hue, and the light source in the upper left corner of the painting are a sharp contrast with the darkness and the looming owl and bat figures in the upper right corner of the painting. According to contemporary understanding of these figures, Truth was the favored daughter of Time, who sought to protect her from those who attempted to harm her, which explains the appearance of Time swooping in and grabbing the arm of Truth.⁸¹

(1810), Museo Municipal, Madrid (see Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 167 and Wilson-Bareau and Marqués, *Goya, Truth and Fantasy*, 225). Both the sketch and the final painting have been damaged, so assigning an accurate date to the works has been a difficult task.

⁸⁰ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 169 and Wilson-Bareau and Marqués, *Goya, Truth and Fantasy*, 222.

⁸¹ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, 64 (cites Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (Oxford, 1939), Ch. 3).

In addition to the painted sketch, there are two drawings associated with the symbolic figures portrayed in these works; a preparatory drawing for Truth and a drawing of Time and Truth associated with the *Los Caprichos* studies. The preparatory drawing for the Truth figure, *Nude woman* (1797-1800, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) (Fig. 47), is an incomplete rendering of the standing unclothed female that would be Truth in the Stockholm painted sketch for *Time, Truth and History*. A faint outline of her arms, torso and legs supports the face and head, which is significantly darker in shading.⁸² The second drawing, *Time and Truth* (1797-1798, Museo del Prado, Madrid) (Fig. 48), has been linked to the early studies for *Los Caprichos*.⁸³ It portrays Truth being held closely to Time, who grasps the hourglass, though his wings are absent in this depiction. Additionally, the owl and the dark shading at the bottom left of the drawing are similar to the motifs he was using for the series of paintings Goya made for La Alameda, the summer house of the Duke and Duchess of Osuna around the same time.⁸⁴

The figures in these two paintings are significant because they portray allegorical figures, and the female figures of Truth and History are similar to the Truth figure in *The Disasters of War* not only in rendering, but also in their allegorical significance. Although the subject of allegory makes the depiction of the unclothed female body more acceptable according to Spanish artistic tradition, the unclothed female was still problematic in conservative Spain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

⁸² Gassier, Pierre, *The Drawings of Goya, The Sketches, Studies and Individual Drawings*, New York: Harper & Row, 1975, 45.

⁸³ Gassier, *The Drawings of Goya*, 44.

⁸⁴ Gassier, *The Drawings of Goya* 44.

Los Caprichos, Maja Desnuda, and the Cannibals

The final section that will discuss Goya's use of the unclothed body in his art before *The Disasters of War* will address *Los Caprichos* (1797-1799), *Maja desnuda* (Before 1800, Museo del Prado, Madrid) (Fig. 9), and his *Cannibals* pair (ca. 1800-1808. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon) (Figs. 49 and 50). While Goya continuously used sketches and drawings from all of his oeuvre as inspiration during his entire career as an artist, these most recent works are helpful because of their close proximity in time to *The Disasters of War*, the similarities in handling of the unclothed body, and in the case of *Los Caprichos* and *Cannibals*, the inclusion of violence and the dark subject matter.

The literature on *Los Caprichos* is voluminous, but for the purposes of this thesis I will offer a brief overview of the relevant discussion, particularly relating to the portrayal of the unclothed body in this series of prints. One particularly helpful source is Andrew Schulz's book *Goya's Caprichos: Aesthetics, Perception and the Body*, which I assessed in the literature review in Chapter One. Many of the observations and ideas about this series could also, in part, be applied to some of the imagery in *The Disasters*, particularly when dealing with Goya's handling of the human body. *Los Caprichos* explores follies of the human character and superstitious beliefs including relationships between men and women, practices of witchcraft, hypocritical actions of religious leaders, and blending of animal and human characteristics, just to name a few. Throughout *Los Caprichos*, the body, both male and female, is portrayed in a variety of ways, though usually for the function of displaying the body as a vehicle for foolishness and flaws in character.

Maja desnuda was the first and only reclining unclothed female in Goya's oeuvre. Tomlinson argues that his handling of the subject and his painting technique reveal Goya's discomfort with the unclothed female body, though the artist was well-versed in portraying female sexuality with the clothed female figure.⁸⁵ The painting depicts a reclining female figure, completely unclothed. She is portrayed on a settee that has been covered with large pillows and a blanket or shawl. The settee is a dark shade of green, and the pillows are white with some lace accents at the edges. Aside from the green on the chair and slightly rosy coloring on the woman's cheeks, the palette is very muted. There is some highlighting on her knees, shins, abdomen and breasts, but the overall effect of her body is fairly flat. The absence of any objects or signifiers of her identity is what is significant about Goya's depiction of this woman. She is not shown with anything that would suggest that she is Venus, Diana, or even a modern individual, and this absence is what makes *Maja desnuda* unique. I believe that until Goya's creation of this painting, aside from of course nude study drawings, no other painted unclothed female figure was portrayed without a specific identity as a classical figure or a woman from antiquity.

The first documentation of *Maja desnuda* is from an inventory of Manuel Godoy's personal collection in 1800.⁸⁶ It is also likely that it was Godoy that commissioned the painting. Godoy's personal inventory also included Diego Velázquez's *Rokeby Venus* (ca.1647-1651, National Gallery, London) (Fig. 51) and other reclining nudes, which today have been lost.⁸⁷ However, its pendant, *Maja vestida* (ca. 1805, Museo del Prado, Madrid) (Fig. 52) was not listed

⁸⁵ Tomlinson, "Burn It, Hide It, Flaunt It," 62.

⁸⁶ Tomlinson, Janis, "Burn It, Hide It, Flaunt It: Goya's Majas and the Censorial Mind," *Art Journal* 50/4 (Winter 1991), 59.

⁸⁷ Tomlinson, "Burn It, Hide It, Flaunt It," 61-62.

in this 1800 inventory.⁸⁸ Additionally, it has been suggested that instead of being hung side by side, *Maja vestida* would hang in front of *Maja desnuda*, and a machine would move the former to reveal the latter.⁸⁹ As has been discussed earlier, censorship was rather strict in Spain in the eighteenth and nineteenth century when it came to depiction of the unclothed human body in art. The *Maja desnuda* was so controversial, that Goya was ordered to appear before the Inquisition in 1814 to defend his painting. However, no record exists of his testimony, so it is possible that he was able to avoid appearing because of his position at court.⁹⁰ Although the fully unclothed female body was not portrayed in *The Disasters of War*, Goya chose to represent the female body throughout *The Disasters*, but in a very different way. While in *Maja desnuda*, the female figure is portrayed in a reclining position, with her gaze directed at the viewer for the viewer's pleasure, as will be discussed further, the female figures in *The Disasters* incite not pleasure, but pity and sorrow.

The final selection of works for this section is a pair of paintings on panel, *Cannibals Preparing their Victims* (ca. 1800-1808, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon) (Fig. 49) and *Cannibals Contemplating Human Remains* (ca. 1800-1808, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon) (Fig. 50). The two paintings were titled *L'Archevêque de Québec* (*The Archbishop of Quebec*) and *J'en ai managé* (*I have eaten of it*) in Charles Yriarte's nineteenth-century text on Goya, though the titles were later determined to be incorrect.⁹¹ Although no definitive evidence exists for the specific subject that Goya has depicted in these

⁸⁸ Tomlinson, "Burn It, Hide It, Flaunt It," 62.

⁸⁹ Tomlinson, "Burn It, Hide It, Flaunt It," 62.

⁹⁰ Tomlinson, "Burn It, Hide It, Flaunt It," 64.

⁹¹ Wilson-Bareau and Marqués, *Goya, Truth and Fantasy*, 288.

paintings. Some scholars have suggested that the works portray Jean de Brebeuf and Gabriel Lallemant, two Jesuit missionaries who were killed by the Iroquois in 1649.⁹²

The first panel, *Cannibals Preparing their Victims*, portrays three unclothed men in what appears to be a cave setting, preparing the bodies of the two other unclothed men. The cannibals are depicted in a slightly darker skin tone than their victims. Their victims are already dead, and their clothes are strewn on the floor of the cave. Two men work on removing the innards of the man lying down, and a third is flaying the other body, which hangs from a rope. Although the figures are clearly depicted, Goya's brushwork is visible and sketchy.⁹³

The second panel, *Cannibals Contemplating Human Remains*, portrays the next scene in the narrative, which is a group of cannibals, sitting around a fire, admiring their victims, who have now been dismembered and processed for eating. The central standing figure holds a human hand in his right hand, and a severed human head in his left. The setting for this panel is also obscure, only a protruding branch and distant rocks mark the landscape, perhaps similar to the setting in Plate 39 of *The Disasters of War*, "Grande hazaña! Con muertos!" ("Heroic feat! With dead men!") (Fig. 3).⁹⁴

A useful source that contributes a helpful discussion of the portrayal of the body is Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby's book *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* published in 2002. Chapter four in the book, "Cannibalism" is about Theodore Gericault's painting *The Raft of the Medusa*. In the chapter, Grigsby offers a detailed and lengthy discussion of the

⁹² Wilson-Bareau and Marqués, *Goya, Truth and Fantasy*, 288.

⁹³ Wilson-Bareau and Marqués, *Goya, Truth and Fantasy*, 289.

⁹⁴ Wilson-Bareau and Marqués, *Goya, Truth and Fantasy*, 289.

presence of the nude in the painting, and the different ways in which the nude is represented, particularly given the scene the painting portrays. Although the subject of Grigsby's chapter is a French painting, her methods and analysis of the nude bodies in the scene is helpful when looking at the graphic nude bodies and body parts in Goya's *The Disasters*. Firstly, Grigsby notes the relationship between the physical violation of cannibalism and that of rape.⁹⁵ This notion about the violation of the body could also be applied to Goya's pair of paintings about the same subject. She also asserts that once cannibalism is introduced as the subject of the image, all bodily contact becomes suspect to cannibalistic activities.⁹⁶ In addition, she points out the juxtaposition of violence against the body and the orderly placement of the dismembered parts on the canvas, and Grigsby also draws attention to two of Géricault's still life paintings of body parts, *Anatomical Fragments* (1818) (Figs. 53 and 54), one at the Musée Fabre in Montpellier, and the other at Musée des Beaux-Arts at Rouen. Although the figures are not as fully developed in Goya's paintings as they are in Géricault's, this fragmentation of the body is present in both Goya's *Cannibals* paintings and several prints in *The Disasters of War*. In addition to the active violation of the body in the form of violence and dismemberment, there is also a more passive kind of representation that contributes to the portrayal of cannibalism, and that is the hiding and mingling of bodies and their parts.⁹⁷ Through this concealment and confusion, the viewer continues in looking for the existence of cannibalistic actions within the picture plane. Upon presentation of Géricault's painting at the salon, critical reception of the painting quickly emerged. Critics expressed their issues with the muted palette, and the similarities between the

⁹⁵ Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, "Cannibalism" in *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France*, (London: Yale University Press, 2002), 197.

⁹⁶ Grigsby, "Cannibalism" in *Extremities*, 201.

⁹⁷ Grigsby, "Cannibalism" in *Extremities*, 215.

living and the dead, and the white and the black.⁹⁸ While this presumption likely seems absurd to contemporary audiences, the viewers during the time of the painting's creation expected a clearer distinction between the races and a more hierarchal composition.⁹⁹ The combination of the muted palette contributed to the portrayal of the men not as violent and monstrous, but as victims, the black and the white, the living and the dead.¹⁰⁰ By depicting both black and white as victims, Gericault displayed a connection between the bodies and the fragmentation brought on by war, slavery and cannibalism.¹⁰¹ Although race was not portrayed in Goya's *The Disasters of War*, Goya chose to equalize the French and Spanish through violence that dismembered the bodies of both sides. Goya's fragmentation was the result of war, both invasion and retribution.

The paintings discussed in this chapter offer a foundation on which to discuss the portrayal of the unclothed body in Goya's oeuvre, which will help in the analysis for the portrayal of the body in *The Disasters of War*. In his early religious works, Goya portrayed the unclothed body in conventional ways both in the rendering of the figures and the subject matter. As Goya began to innovate and challenge the established artistic tradition of the time, including portraying the unclothed human body in secular and contemporary subject matter, the ways in which the body functioned within the works changed from the body as a religious or antique vessel, to the more corporal and physical. In addition, the actions upon these bodies shifted from reverence to violence and dismemberment. The unclothed bodies in much of Goya's later works, including those in *The Disasters of War*, began to be the sites of antagonism and destruction.

⁹⁸ Grigsby, "Cannibalism" in *Extremities*, 220.

⁹⁹ Grigsby, "Cannibalism" in *Extremities*, 220.

¹⁰⁰ Grigsby, "Cannibalism" in *Extremities*, 224.

¹⁰¹ Grigsby, "Cannibalism" in *Extremities*, 232.

Chapter Three: The Unclothed Body in *The Disasters of War*

As I have suggested in the Introduction, the ways in which the unclothed body is depicted in the series can be separated into several modes, and these modes are connected with their respective subjects. I have chosen prints from each mode, and other images by Goya and other artists will support the analysis of the body in *The Disasters of War*. In addition to the prints of *The Disasters of War*, other images of the unclothed body in Goya's oeuvre, discussed in Chapter 2, will offer support for Goya's modes of representing the unclothed body. Additionally, examples of the unclothed body within the Spanish artistic tradition will offer support for the assertion that Goya was challenging the function of the unclothed body in his images in *The Disasters of War*. But before examining the series, it is necessary to briefly summarize the political backdrop against which Goya produced it.

The situation in Spain during the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was one of political turmoil, economic struggle, and religious uncertainty. The monarchy of King Charles IV and Queen Maria Luisa exploited the Spanish citizens for their own personal gain. Additionally Manuel Godoy, the Prime Minister of Spain and the Queen's rumored lover, was equally responsible for the mismanagement of the country's finances. Fernando, their son and heir, began writing letters to Napoleon in conspiracy against his father, asking for his assistance

in dealing with the problems of power between the King, the Queen and Godoy.¹⁰² In 1807 these letters were discovered, possibly by Godoy, and the King placed his son under arrest.¹⁰³ That same year, Charles IV and Napoleon secretly signed the Treaty of Fontainebleau, which permitted Napoleon's troops to pass through Spain on the way to seize Portugal.¹⁰⁴ In return, when Portugal became under the control of Napoleon's forces, it would be divided, and Godoy would receive a third.¹⁰⁵ In return, King Charles was to turn over his estates in Italy.¹⁰⁶ Upon Portugal's seizure by Napoleon, Portuguese colonies would also be divided between Spain and France.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, Napoleon was building his army in Spain, up to 120,000 men. Those troops began occupying major strongholds in Spain, and Napoleon began trying to persuade his brother, Joseph, to come to Spain, in hopes that Joseph would rule Spain.¹⁰⁸ All the while, Napoleon's plan to enter Spain for the purposes of overthrowing the monarchy from within was working, but by all evidence, no one, not even the monarchs or Godoy, was aware of what Napoleon was doing.¹⁰⁹

In February of 1808, Napoleon ordered Marshal Joachim Murat, the grand duke of Berg, to march his fifty thousand troops into the city of Madrid.¹¹⁰ His orders were to seize the city, take

¹⁰² David Bell, *The First Total War, Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2007, 275.

¹⁰³ Bell, *First Total War*, 275.

¹⁰⁴ Bell, *First Total War*, 275.

¹⁰⁵ Bell, *First Total War*, 275.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Hughes, *Goya*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003, 247.

¹⁰⁷ Hughes, *Goya*, 247.

¹⁰⁸ Bell, *First Total War*, 276.

¹⁰⁹ Hughes, *Goya*, 248.

¹¹⁰ Hughes, *Goya*, 248.

control of the throne, and remove Godoy.¹¹¹ The following month, an uprising and revolt against Godoy occurred. Spanish citizens sacked his palace, but Godoy could not be found. The man known as the king and queen's favorite hid in his attic for thirty-six hours, and when he finally emerged, he was brought before the King, Queen, and Fernando.¹¹² In the days that followed, Godoy was dismissed from his position, Charles IV was forced to abdicate his throne, Fernando became Fernando VII and entered Madrid to cheers, Napoleon forced Fernando's abdication, and the royal family and Manuel Godoy were sent into exile in France.¹¹³

On the second of May 1808, the citizens of Madrid revolted against the French occupiers. The French employed mercenaries in addition to their national soldiers, known as the *mamelukes*, who were former slaves originally from Egypt. The fighting between the Spanish people and the French troops continued to the following day. On May 3, 1808, it ended in a massacre of the Spanish citizenry. A firing squad, led by Marshal Joachim Murat, marched through Madrid and killed hundreds of Spanish people. The events of these two days were the subject of two large oil paintings by Goya (*The Second of May*, 1814 and *The Third of May*, 1814), which were discussed in Chapter 2. In June of the same year, Napoleon declared his older brother Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain. He was known as *El Rey Intruso*, or The Intruder King, by most of the Spanish people. During the years 1810 and 1811, a widespread famine was responsible for an estimated twenty thousand deaths in the city of Madrid.¹¹⁴ Until 1813, French,

¹¹¹ Hughes, *Goya*, 248.

¹¹² Hughes, *Goya*, 250.

¹¹³ Hughes, *Goya*, 251.

¹¹⁴ Frank I. Heckes, *Reason and Folly: The Prints of Francisco Goya*, Exh. cat., Melbourne, Australia: National Gallery of Victoria, 1998, 45.

Spanish, English and Portuguese forces fought all along the Peninsula, particularly along the Spanish-Portuguese border.

As the years progressed, Napoleon increased his troops from 165,000 to 350,000 between June of 1808 and July of 1811.¹¹⁵ Similarly, Spanish guerrillas were also increasing exponentially. On both sides, atrocities were being committed. In retaliation for the third of May, a mob of Spanish citizens killed nearly 330 French civilians in Valencia.¹¹⁶ In the fall of 1809, Napoleon began his marches toward Madrid, and along the way his troops sacked and pillaged towns.¹¹⁷ One particularly remarkable example is Saragossa, the town nearest to where Goya spent his childhood. On June 15 and June 28 of 1808, Napoleon's troops made two separate attempts to invade the town, and both times they were forced to retreat by the tenacious Spanish citizens.¹¹⁸ On the third attempt, both the French and Spanish increased their numbers. Though Napoleon sent a large bombardment that damaged the town, Captain-General José de Palafox, the Spanish commander, refused to surrender.¹¹⁹ Finally, in February of 1809, Saragossa finally surrendered. The small town of Saragossa had managed to defend itself against Napoleon's troops for seven months despite lack of resources and formally trained soldiers. Following the fall of Saragossa, General Palafox invited Goya to come to the town to bear witness to the remnants that remained. Despite a previous engagement to attend a dedication of a portrait of Fernando VII, Goya believed it was his duty to go and see the destruction of his town.¹²⁰ Goya's

¹¹⁵ Bell, *First Total War*, 280.

¹¹⁶ Bell, *First Total War*, 280.

¹¹⁷ Bell, *First Total War*, 280.

¹¹⁸ Bell, *First Total War*, 281.

¹¹⁹ Bell, *First Total War*, 282.

¹²⁰ Hughes, *Goya*, 276.

visit to Saragossa is believed to be the first inspiration for the scenes he would portray in *The Disasters of War*.¹²¹ In her diary, Elizabeth Vassall Fox, Lady Holland, upon a visit to Saragossa, noted several drawings by Goya in the house once used by General Palafox, which had been slashed by the French soldiers.¹²² She describes a depiction of what would become Plate 7 “Que valor!” which shows Agustina of Aragon lighting the cannon at the defense of Saragossa. This example is evidence of Goya’s portrayal of the war in *The Disasters* at its earliest point.

As noted in Chapter One, the scholarship on *The Disasters of War* has frequently considered the prints within the context of the Napoleonic Wars that the images portray. By limiting the discussion of the series to a primarily historical one, scholars have neglected other avenues of interest, particularly the subject of the unclothed body. While this thematic investigation of historical context is important, a more thorough discussion of the function of the nude in *The Disasters of War* is an important contribution to the current Goya scholarship.

The Nude in *The Disasters of War*

Of the eighty-two prints¹²³ in the series *The Disasters of War*, fifteen of the scenes contain either fully or partially unclothed human bodies. In many of these prints, the bodies are

¹²¹ Hughes, *Goya*, 276.

¹²² Elizabeth Vassall Fox Holland and Giles Stephen Holland Fox-Strangways, *The Spanish Journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland*, (New York: Longmans, Green: 1910), 342. Accessed July 29, 2012 from archive.org.

¹²³ There has been some debate amongst scholars about how many prints Goya intended to be included in the series. Because the prints of the plates were produced thirty-five years after his death, it is difficult to conclude what Goya’s intentions were. I have chosen to include eighty-two prints because the final two prints of the Truth allegory seem to be a continuation of Plate 79 and 80, while what would be Plates 83 to 85 appear to be prints made of independent study drawings.

the central focus of the scene, so it is surprising that little to no discussion is included in scholarly study of the series.

The first mode of representation of the unclothed body is the portrayal of ideal male nude bodies. These presentations of the male unclothed body show handling similar to academic drawing studies in their idealism of the musculature, posing of the body, and highlighting of the skin. There are six plates in the series that display this style of nude bodies: Plate 16 “Se aprovechan” (“They avail themselves”) (Fig. 55), Plate 18 “Enterrar y callar” (“Bury them and keep quiet”) (Fig. 56), Plate 27 “Caridad” (“Charity”) (Fig. 57), Plate 33 “Qué hai que hacer más?” (“What more can be done?”) (Fig. 58), Plate 37 “Esto es peor,” (“This is worse”) (Fig. 4) and Plate 39 “Grande hazaña! con muertos!” (“A heroic feat! With dead men!”) (Fig. 3).

Plate 16, “Se aprovechan” (Fig. 55) portrays the shortage of supplies that was rampant, especially for the Spaniards.¹²⁴ The Spanish soldiers are shown stripping the clothes from some dead soldiers. The dead figure on the right has already been stripped of any valuable supplies and clothing. The two dead men whose clothing is being removed are portrayed in an academic style. Their bodies are reminiscent of nude study drawings, though their placement in the scene as dead men being stripped for materials is a remarkable juxtaposition. Their bodies are portrayed in such a way that their musculature, skin contours, and the posing of their limbs are accentuated, in the same way as a nude study would be. In spite of being dead, the men’s bodies show muscle tone and strength. A large tree separates the foreground from the background. Like so many other prints in the series, the landscape is minimal and often difficult to discern. Just over the hill in the background, presumably the fellow soldiers of the men in the foreground continue the

¹²⁴ Eleanor A. Sayre, *The Changing Image: Prints by Francisco Goya*, Exh. cat., (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1974), 150.

battle. Despite the grim subject matter of the print, scholars have commented on the tonal beauty of the print itself.¹²⁵ This contributes to the contrast of the portrayal of the bodies in the academic style with the violent context. This contrast can be seen in a number of the prints.

Next, Plate 18, “Enterrar y callar” (Fig. 56) depicts a mound of completely unclothed dead bodies, and two onlookers who are covering their noses and mouths. It is not clear if this scene represents a distinct historical event. Goya did not indicate if any prints were representations of particular events, aside from Plate 7 “Que valor!” (“What courage!”) (Fig. 59), which is generally accepted to be Agustina Aragón, the woman who began operating a canon during the first siege of Saragossa in 1808.¹²⁶ The bodies in Plate 18 may be the aftermath of the Saragossa sieges, or perhaps a mass execution that took place in Chinchón at the end of that same year.¹²⁷ Witnesses are recorded as saying that, “On the square itself there were countless corpses, many completely naked... lying around in heaps.”¹²⁸ Whatever the case may be, the portrayal of the dead bodies is effective, particularly when paired with the reaction of the two onlookers. The bodies themselves are similar to those in Plate 16. The defined musculature, the variety of poses, and the highlighting of the skin show Goya’s skill in drafting and handling of the unclothed body. The contrast of the toned bodies that are strewn on the hill with the faces of disgust of the witnesses and the open-mouth expressions of the dead men are conflicting and unnerving. The bodies of these men showcase their toned muscles, but instead of being studies of poses and anatomy, they are dead men who are the casualties of war. These bodies do not serve

¹²⁵ Sayre, *The Changing Image*, 150.

¹²⁶ Sayre, *The Changing Image*, 133.

¹²⁷ Sayre, *The Changing Image*, 153.

¹²⁸ Sayre, *The Changing Image*, 153, citing Gabriel H. Lovett, *Napoleon and the Birth of Modern Spain*, (New York, 1965) vol. 1, 282.

as anatomical studies, but instead, their idealized forms are placed in a scene where their stench disgusts onlookers. They are not the representations of muscular models, but of decaying corpses.

Plate 27, “Caridad” (“Charity”) (Fig. 57) portrays what appear to be Spanish soldiers, guerrillas, and or citizens disposing of dead bodies in a mass grave. This depicts a historical reality. As the number of dead, both military and civilian, increased, the use of single graves likely became impossible. A small note at the bottom left of the print, “Goya 1810,” means that the plate for this particular print was one of the first created in the series. A group of men toss several completely unclothed male corpses into a large pit. The central figure almost appears to be diving hands and head first into the grave. His figure is toned, and his buttocks are highlighted at the center of the picture plane. The nude figure to the right is portrayed in a similar position, though at the opposite angle. There are also two additional bodies portrayed at the edge of the pit, though their bodies are only partially visible. There is one final unclothed figure in the far left in the background. Goya has continued his academic-style portrayal of the nude bodies in this print. All the dead bodies are shown with defined muscle tone, the curves of the skin are highlighted, and they are shown in a variety of poses.

Plate 33, “Qué hai que hacer más?” (Fig. 58) depicts several French soldiers in the midst of slicing an unclothed man in half, starting at the groin. The victim appears to be dead, based on his closed eyes and limply falling arms. He also appears to be a Spaniard, with his dark hair and mustache, and the fact that French soldiers are the ones inflicting the violence. His groin area is darkly shaded, so it is difficult to see if his genitals are present. Like the dead figures in Plates 37 and 39, this man’s musculature is also defined, including his arms, abdomen, chest and legs. The scene takes place in a nondescript setting, its only feature is the single leaning tree, additionally

much like the previously discussed prints. In the background, silhouettes of French soldiers are shown with their backs toward the viewer, perhaps inflicting the same sorts of violence.

Plate 37, “Esto es peor” (Fig. 4) is one of the most graphic scenes in the series. In the foreground, a completely nude man is shown with his back to the viewer, and his arms have been severed. What is perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the image, the body of the man has been impaled onto a pointed branch of a tree stump. Although the man is dead, as is shown in his closed eyes and gaping mouth, the legs, shoulders, back, and buttocks are shown with pronounced muscular definition. The shading and the contours of the lines highlight the flexed muscles of the dead man’s body. In the background, the events that likely led up to the state of the man in the foreground are portrayed. Soldiers wearing the hats of Napoleon’s troops, which can also be seen in Goya’s *The Third of May, 1808* (1814) (Fig. 60), are attacking what are assumed to be the Spanish citizens. The soldier on the right wields his sword against a man holding up his hands in self-defense. To the left, a soldier is removing the pants of a man who lies limply on the ground, most likely dead.

Plate 39, “Grande hazaña! con muertos!” (Fig. 3) is another example of Goya’s presentation of the male nude in an academic style. Like the previously discussed image, this scene is disturbing in its graphic nature and portrayal of the dismembered male body. Three nude men are depicted in this scene. The figure furthest to the left is strung to the tree by his legs, and his shoulders and head rest on the ground. The next figure to the right is bound at the ankles, the waist, and the wrists. His posture is upright, but he is leaning against the tree, and his chin rests against his chest. Similar to the figure discussed in Plate 37, this man is also shown with muscular definition, specifically in his arms, chest, abdomen, and legs. The final figure in the scene hangs upside down on the branch of the tree, but he has been decapitated and his arms

have also been severed. His head is mounted on a smaller branch of the tree, and his arms have been tied together and hang by the fingers on the end of the branch. Like the center figure, the musculature of the legs, torso, and even the hanging arms are shaded and outlined to show their definition. The background is nondescript, and there are no other figures in the scene.

As an artist who studied in the Royal Academy, Goya was certainly trained in drawing from the nude, and his experience in this regard is evident in the prints discussed above. However, by placing these nude studies into the context of the brutality of the Napoleonic occupation of Spain, the function of the nude changes. Earlier scholars have noted that Goya utilized idealized representations of the male nude within this series, particularly in Plates 37 and 39; however, how the function of these academic style bodies changes when placed into the context of the atrocities of war has yet to be explored in depth. In both the exhibition catalogue essays discussed previously, Tomlinson and Wilson-Bareau are somewhat superficial in their discussion of the antique sources for Plates 37 and 39. In addition to merely citing a possible precedent for Goya's representation of the nude bodies, their discussion of the relationship between the idealization of the figures and the context of war falls short. Both scholars utilize the term "irony" to describe this relationship, though that term seems to be lacking considering the drastic ways in which the bodies and their contexts are juxtaposed.¹²⁹ Instead, I would offer the use of the term "capricho" to describe this contradiction.¹³⁰ In contrast to the term irony, "capricho," which implies a stronger juxtaposition and also the use of fantasy, which are both

¹²⁹ Tomlinson, *Graphic Evolutions*, 31 and Wilson-Bareau, *Disasters of War: Callot, Goya, Dix*, 37.

¹³⁰ For a helpful discussion of the term "capricho" and how it is used within the art of Goya and in a broader context of Spanish culture, see Dowling, John, "Capricho as Style in Life, Literature, and Art from Zamora to Goya," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 10/4 (Summer 1977): 413-433.

important elements in much of Goya's work, particularly in *The Disasters of War*. Goya's first print series, *Los Caprichos*, was a collection of eighty prints that are satires on subjects ranging from the clergy, to witches, to the Inquisition. These mocking images of superstition, the pitfalls of the religious leadership, and a number of character flaws show Goya's use of satire to portray his liberal beliefs. It was in this same spirit that Goya created the plates for the series *The Disasters of War*, though in the latter the satire is much darker and more serious.

A significant juxtaposition that is used within this mode of representation of the unclothed body, the nude, is the idealization, specifically the muscular definition, of the bodies of what are understood to be dead men. In "Esto es peor," (Fig. 4) Tomlinson has noted the striking similarity between the figure in the foreground and the Belvedere torso.¹³¹ While this comparison is certainly appropriate, there is more to be said about Goya's use of this significant antique sculpture fragment in a graphic scene of wartime violence. Additionally, in "Grande hazaña! con muertos!" there is also a reference to the antique. Tomlinson, Wilson-Bareau, and Hughes have noted the similarity between the hanging appendages and the casts of body fragments used in Academic drawing classes.¹³² Again, while it is likely that Goya is referencing such plaster casts he probably used in his own studies at the Academy, their re-contextualization into a print about the atrocities of war changes the function of the body in a drastic way. When used for drawing studies, these limbs and fragments serve to help the artist develop his skills in representing parts of the human body. However, when hung from a tree as part of a scene showing the dismemberment of a human body, there is a greater connection to the action of

¹³¹ Janis A. Tomlinson, *Graphic Evolutions: The Print Series of Francisco Goya*, Exh. cat. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 31.

¹³² Tomlinson, *Graphic Evolutions* 31; Juliet Wilson-Bareau, "Goya" in *Disasters of War: Callot, Goya, Dix*, Exh. cat. (London: Cornerhouse Publications, 1998), 37; Hughes, *Goya*, 295.

severing them from the rest of the body. There is a closer association of the body part and the action of removing the part from the body, and in the context of war, it was more likely a violent action. The limbs dangling from the branch of the tree are no longer just depictions of plaster casts in an Academy drawing class, they are the severed limbs of the dead man strung to the tree. The juxtaposition of the hanging limbs, their previous association with Academy study drawings, and the violent act of severing limbs from the body is an example of “capricho” that I described earlier. There is a striking contrast between the skillful representation of the arms and legs and the violence of war.

As shown in the examples of Plates 37 and 39 (Figs. 3 and 4), dismemberment and violence against the bodies in the images of *The Disasters* was a commonly-used theme. In addition to the severing of limbs, a second means of violence against the body is impaling. The implication of the forcible impaling of the man in Plate 37 is certainly present, especially considering the context the atrocities of war. The relationship between impaling and sodomy, and perhaps also rape, is not only suggested as yet another disaster of war, but also possibly as a connection between the destruction of the body and the destruction of the Enlightenment ideals that were supposed to keep these kinds of barbarous acts from occurring. Another important point about this image is the ambiguity about the identities of the oppressors and the oppressed, namely, who is French and who is Spanish. Goya used this device of not identifying the people in the scene in several other prints to show the atrocities of war, not the atrocities solely inflicted

upon the Spanish people.¹³³ The viewer is left unsure about who should be pitied, and this was a message common throughout the series.¹³⁴

Secondly, the absence of the male genitals in Plates 39 and 33, as well as in several other prints in the series, is perhaps an allusion to castration. Two scholars have noted this possible allusion: Robert Hughes and Janis A. Tomlinson.¹³⁵ In fact, in Plate 33, a Spanish man is shown being cut in half by a group of French soldiers. The brutality and blatant violence depicted in this scene differs from Plates 37 and 39 because the act is being carried out in the print. The central figure, like many other nude men portrayed in the prints, is displayed in a way that highlights his muscles, even post-mortem. The act of castration in warfare during the Napoleonic Wars, according to my research, is not documented as a rampant phenomenon. In David E. Bell's book *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It*, he briefly mentions a single occurrence of castration during the war. In a battle in March of 1805 in Calabria, a mountainous region near Sicily, "a band of more than a thousand armed peasants ambushed [the French troops], killed or wounded forty, and captured twenty-six, whom they tortured and in some cases, castrated."¹³⁶ Although this act of torture does not appear to have been frequently practiced by either the French or the Spanish, perhaps it is possible that Goya either witnessed or heard stories of the castration of men.

¹³³ Hughes, *Goya*, 292.

¹³⁴ Hughes, *Goya*, 293.

¹³⁵ Hughes, *Goya*, 295 and Tomlinson, *Graphic Evolutions*, 31.

¹³⁶ David E. Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2007), 271.

The torture of this man, the position of his body, and the violent acts of the aggressors is reminiscent of images of the flaying of Marsyas, particularly the paintings by Titian and Jusepe de Ribera (Figs. 61 and 62). Although a source for the far left figure in Plate 39 has been suggested as Marsyas,¹³⁷ I would argue that this could also be a source for the man in Plate 33 (Fig. 58), however the act of flaying was not prevalent during this conflict. There are similarities in the treatment of Marsyas and the nude Spaniard in Plate 33 (Fig. 58), including the posture of the victim, the dramatic moment just before the act that is being shown, the upside-down position of the man, and the display of the unclothed male body. Goya would have been familiar with the subject of Apollo and Marsyas, and likely the paintings by Titian and Ribera, so Goya's depiction of the scene in this way was to show a relationship between the hubris of Marsyas and the disasters of the wars between the Spanish and Napoleon's occupational government. Similar to the impaling of the man in Plate 37 (Fig. 4), the absence of the penis on the nude men throughout the series is likely an act of decorum, which was common practice in Academic portrayal of the unclothed body. Placement of a drapery or a hand often concealed the penis in representations of the unclothed body in drawings and paintings. In Spain particularly, censorship in art was common practice, and other examples of this can be seen in the religious and classical paintings by Goya discussed previously.

Finally, the close perspective and the centrality of the human figures in Plates 37 (Fig. 4), 39 (Fig. 3), and 33 (Fig. 58), and throughout the entire series in fact, brings the violence of the scenes to the viewer's attention. In traditional history painting, which was the typical means of representing war, artists portrayed scenes from a more distant perspective. They also typically

¹³⁷ Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez and Eleanor A. Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of the Enlightenment*, Exh. cat., (Boston: Bulfinch Press, 1989), 200.

did not portray the level of graphic violence that is present in Goya's prints. Even in the print medium, such as Jacques Callot's *The Miseries of War* (1633) (see Fig. 63), a series to which Goya's *The Disasters of War* is often compared, the perspective is usually much more distant. Goya's close perspective, when paired with the intense violence depicted on the bodies, brings the subject matter closer to the viewer, which creates a more disturbing image.

Non-Idealized Unclothed Bodies

The second mode of the unclothed body represented in *The Disasters of War* is non-idealized partially and completely unclothed figures. By "non-idealized" bodies, I mean bodies that display neither clearly defined musculature, nor highlighting and line that draw attention to the placement of the body and the muscles. Instead, because most of these partially unclothed bodies are found in the section of the series that depicts the famine, the bodies are emaciated and the expressions are supplicating and dismal. As mentioned previously, a famine during the years of 1810 and 1811 made already difficult circumstances in Madrid even more challenging for the citizens. In Plates 48 to 64, Goya depicts the horrific results of this famine, and it is here that many of the non-idealized representations of the unclothed body are found. It is reasonable that the scenes in which the people are starving and sometimes close to death or already dead, that the bodies would be shown more emaciated instead of muscular. For this mode of representing the unclothed body, I believe there are three prints that portray the body in this way: Plate 55 "Lo peor es pedir" ("The worst is to beg") (Fig. 64), Plate 57 "Sanos y enfermos" ("The healthy and the sick") (Fig. 65), and Plate 61 "Si son de otro linage" ("Perhaps they are of another breed") (Fig. 66).

Plate 55 “Lo peor es pedir” portrays a young woman walking past a group of beggars. In contrast to the woman, the beggars are gaunt, dressed in rags and shown in much more shadow. It is also important to note the significant changes Goya made between the preparatory drawing and the final plate for the print. In the drawing, the woman is not depicted alone, but walking arm in arm with a soldier, and a French soldier in fact.¹³⁸ In fact, the entry on the preparatory drawing and the print in *Goya and the Spirit of the Enlightenment* go so far as to say that the girl is a prostitute, and the elderly woman peering in front of her is her bawd.¹³⁹ In the final print, the woman walks alone, and the French soldier has moved to the background. Perhaps, her position in society has changed, and she is not a prostitute but a woman who has married a French soldier out of necessity.¹⁴⁰ Whichever is the case, the woman has become the property of the Frenchman. Additionally, the beggars in the print are more visibly emaciated and more darkly shadowed. The central figure’s arms and legs are thin enough that his bones are visible. His hands are clasped, perhaps in prayer. The small child to the man’s left displays his tiny legs as a means of perhaps inciting pity and alms.¹⁴¹ The combination of the thinness of the bodies of the beggars, which are displayed to the woman to solicit money for food, and the sunken features on their faces, create a disturbing but likely realistic representation of the effects of the famine on the general population in Spain.

Plate 57 “Sanos y enfermos” portrays a group of people showing visual signs of starvation. The central figure wearing a head covering gestures and looks down upon a small,

¹³⁸ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit*, 204, and Sayre, *The Changing Image*, 190.

¹³⁹ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit*, 204. Note: A “bawd” was an older woman who assists a younger woman with her illicit engagements, typically a prostitute.

¹⁴⁰ Sayre, *The Changing Image*, 190.

¹⁴¹ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit*, 204.

frail figure, probably a child. The child is wearing a tattered garment and rigidly leans against the woman. His gaping mouth shows anguish and pain. The seated figure on the far left is perhaps the most telling of the effects of the famine on the poor. During the famine, flour was in short supply, so manufacturers created blends that included legumes, some of which were harmful to people.¹⁴² One of the effects of these legume-flour blends was paralysis, specifically lathyrism, which can be blamed for both the rigid stance of the child and the disfigurement of the legs of the seated man.¹⁴³ This disease was also noted in Plate 51 “Gracias a la almorta” (“Thanks to the (millet) Purple Vetch Flour”) (Fig. 67). Purple Vetch Flour was the substance held responsible for the condition and paralysis.¹⁴⁴ Unlike the men’s bodies in Plates 37 and 39 (Figs. 3 and 4), this man has arms that are skinny, his ribs show through his skin, his face is sunken in, and his mouth down turned. The partially unclothed man functions as an example of realities of the war: famine, starvation and bodily deformities. By portraying the man without a shirt, Goya is able to draw attention to the emaciated state of the man’s body. Additionally, the dark shading above the unfortunate figures enhances the dismal mood of the scene, and the contrast of the light on the bodies of the seated man and the small child draw attention to the famine and its effects on the people in Madrid.

The final example of the non-idealized body in Plate 61 “Si son de otro linage” (Fig. 66). The scene is similar to Plate 57 (Fig. 65) in that it portrays a group of people begging, this time more obviously from the French occupiers. The group of beggars consists of the central male figure who gestures with hands toward the Frenchmen, a sleeping figure leaning against the rock,

¹⁴² Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit*, 205.

¹⁴³ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit*, 206.

¹⁴⁴ Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit*, description in note 7, 207.

and a small baby on the ground, either sleeping or perhaps dead. The approaching people are the physical and financial opposites of the beggars. The officer, the aristocrat and the well-dressed ladies look at the starving people with sneering and disgusted expressions. The differences in the two groups of people are clear: their clothing, their bodies, their expressions, and their postures all convey their status, and thus, their level of existence and comfort.

The emaciated bodies in the non-idealized mode serve as a representation of the famine in Madrid during Napoleon's occupation. Not only are the bodies thin, but the facial expressions and posture convey the sadness and suffering that took place during this time. By portraying the effects of the famine as yet another type of casualty of war, Goya has shown a more comprehensive representation of war and its consequences.

Partially Unclothed Female Bodies

The third mode of portraying the unclothed body in the series is the partially unclothed female. Although there are several examples of the completely nude male body in *The Disasters of War*, including previously discussed Plates 37 and 39 (Figs. 3 and 4), there are no instances of completely nude female figures in the series. The female nude was not a common subject in Spanish art, as has been addressed in Chapter Two. However, Goya did include partially unclothed women in the prints, including Plate 30 "Estragos de la guerra." ("Ravages of war") (Fig. 68), Plate 41 "Escapan entre las llamas" ("The escape through the flames") (Fig. 69) and Plate 64 "Carretadas al cementerio" ("Cartloads for the cemetery") (Fig. 70).

Plate 30 "Estragos de la guerra" (Fig. 68) has often been described as a snapshot image, and although I agree the scene does seem to capture a moment like a photograph would, the fact that photography had not yet been invented makes this assertion problematic. The scene depicts

several women tumbling through the air, likely after a bomb has exploded.¹⁴⁵ It has been suggested that this print may have been a response to an explosion in Saragossa in June of 1808.¹⁴⁶ The woman at the bottom of the scene has become exposed as a result of the explosion. The partially unclothed state of the woman in this print is the result of dishevelment and chaos. Her dress has been lifted up to her waist, her right breast has come out of her clothing, and she appears to be holding her small child with her right arm.

Plate 41 “Escapan entre las llamas” (Fig. 69) portrays people fleeing a bright light from an explosion in the distance. Like other prints within the series, some scholars have sought to ascribe specific instances of the wars to Goya’s prints. For this print, Eleanor A. Sayre has suggested that it may represent an explosion at an orphan hospital in Saragossa in 1808.¹⁴⁷ The central figure, an unconscious woman whose breasts are bare, is being carried away by two men. The white of the clothing and skin of this woman contrasts to the darkness that dominates the rest of the scene.

The final example of the partially unclothed female is Plate 64 “Carretadas al cemeterio” (Fig. 70). As discussed in the description of Plate 27 (Fig. 57), the number of dead bodies in Madrid and throughout Spain became staggering, and twice a day carts came through Madrid to pick up the dead bodies for burial.¹⁴⁸ Plate 64 portrays this terrible reality as a woman’s body is

¹⁴⁵ *The Sleep of Reason: Reality and Fantasy in the Print Series of Goya*, Exh. cat., Washington, DC: The Trust for Museum Exhibitions, 1992, entry for Fig. 110.

¹⁴⁶ Sayre, *The Changing Image*, 172.

¹⁴⁷ Sayre, *The Changing Image*, 181.

¹⁴⁸ Sayre, *The Changing Image*, 189.

lifted into the cart, her legs exposed as her dress falls. This print shows that the effects of war are far-reaching, and the famine took the lives of men, women and children without discrimination.

Other examples of women in this series, though not partially unclothed, are typically in scenes that suggest a rape is about to occur. For example, in Plate 11 “Ni por esas” (“Neither do these”) (Fig. 71) and Plate 13 “Amarga presencia,” (“Bitter presence”) (Fig. 72), although the women are not shown bare breasted, the breasts are highlighted. Both of these plates show the subject of violence against women, particularly rape, which was common during war. In Plate 11 (Fig. 71), a crying infant does not deter the French soldier dragging the mother by the wrists.¹⁴⁹ In Plate 13 (Fig. 72), a man, likely the woman’s father or husband, is bound and forced to watch the impending events.¹⁵⁰ Throughout *The Disasters of War*, Goya portrays violence against women as yet another cruel aspect of war.

The partially unclothed female bodies depicted in *The Disasters of War* help to show that the casualties of war extend beyond the male soldiers. The people left behind, including the wives, children and other family members, were also often affected by the war. Whether victims of the destruction of the city, famine or rape and violence, Goya portrayed the ways in which women were included in the casualties of war.

The Allegorical Figure of Truth

Finally, the symbolic depiction of Truth as a partially nude woman is the last type of nude in *The Disasters of War*. Portrayed similarly to the women discussed previously, notably with exposed breasts, Goya shows the figure of Truth three times at the end of the series. In Plate

¹⁴⁹ *The Sleep of Reason*, entry for Fig. 91.

¹⁵⁰ *The Sleep of Reason*, entry for Fig. 93.

79 “Murió la verdad” (“Truth has died”) (Fig. 73), Truth lies dead at the bottom of the scene, and bright light shines off her body. She wears a gown, but both her breasts are bare. Her body is encircled by many figures including a priest, Justice weeping, two figures preparing to dig a grave, and other spectators.¹⁵¹ Truth appears in two other prints in the series, Plate 80 “Si resucitará?” (“Will she rise again?”) (Fig. 74) and Plate 82 “Esto es lo verdadero” (“This is the true way”) (Fig. 75). In all three prints, Truth is bare breasted and illuminates light from her body.

Goya frequently used symbolism and especially during his later career, the figures became more macabre. The symbolic figure of Truth has precedents in earlier print material, particularly Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*. The figure “Veritas” (Fig. 76) is shown bare breasted, with her right foot on a sphere, her right hand holding the sun, and her left hand holding a book and a palm branch.¹⁵² There are some similarities between the Renaissance source and Goya’s Truth figure in *The Disasters of War*: both figures are bare breasted, both figures are associated with a form of illumination contrast between the creatures surrounding Truth, and her bright and idealized figure is likely symbolic of the values of Truth and Justice she upholds.

¹⁵¹ Pérez-Sánchez, Alfonso E, *Goya: Caprichos, Desastres, Tauromaquia, Disparates*, Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 1982, 129, and Hughes, 303.

¹⁵² Ripa, Cesare, *Iconologia*, 1767 ed., [accessed through google books], 360.

Conclusion

The portrayal of the unclothed body in Goya's *The Disasters of War* has generally been overlooked by scholars. The prevalence of the unclothed body throughout the series makes the lack of in-depth study of the subject surprising. By looking closely at the representation of the partially and completely unclothed bodies within the context of the Napoleonic Wars and the artistic tradition of Spain, the multiple functions that the nude figures serve throughout *The Disasters of War* have been investigated. Goya portrayed the partially and completely unclothed body in several different modes throughout the series, though they all were part of a larger purpose of portraying the atrocities of war. By showing the juxtaposition of the idealized nude form and the gruesome violence inflicted on the bodies, the emaciated bodies that were a result of the widespread famine, the violence inflicted against women, and the symbolic death and possible resurrection of Truth (the constitution), Goya showed that the disasters of war were consequences felt on both the French and Spanish sides of the conflict. By showing the violence against French, Spanish, and unidentified persons, Goya clearly drew attention to the universality of the destruction of war.

The representation of the unclothed bodies in these modes, in conjunction with other subject-based categories support, the assertion that Goya is representing the nude body in this series in different ways for different functions, but that they all are part of a larger purpose of portraying the atrocities that humans are capable of in times of war. In the idealized

representations of the body, Goya inserts the Academy-style into the context of war, and thus making a juxtaposition of the idealism of the body and the atrocities of war. These kinds of representations of the body are similar to his early religiously and classically-inspired works, which are more traditional in style; however, their reinterpretation into scenes of violence and destruction challenges their traditional function. This reevaluation of the idealized body, and its brutal destruction, functions as a correlation with the destruction of reason. In the non-idealized representations of the body, Goya chooses to portray the human body in a more accurate way thereby documenting the negative effects of war and famine on the Spanish population. These emaciated and war-torn bodies display the physical effects of war and its consequences, and particularly for the Spanish, famine. In depicting the partially unclothed female, Goya shows that the violence of war affected both sexes, both as victims and aggressors. The women in these prints are shown in a variety of situations, from the victims of rape, to participating in a mob that is attacking a man. Finally, in his representations of the Truth figure, Goya utilizes a symbolic figure to represent the ideals in place during the resistance against Napoleon

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